

*Dakhleh Oasis Project  
Monograph 16*

# Coptic Documentary Texts From Kellis

**VOLUME 2: P. KELLIS VII**

Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock  
and Wolf-Peter Funk







COPTIC DOCUMENTARY TEXTS  
FROM KELLIS

Volume 2



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Volume 2

P. Kellis VII  
(P. Kellis Copt. 57–131)

Edited by

Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock and Wolf-Peter Funk



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*Front cover: P. Kellis Copt. 78*

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## PREFACE

This volume is the culmination of over twenty years of work. The three authors have spent many seasons in the Dakhleh Oasis working on the texts, individually, in pairs, or on occasion all together. Out of season we have continued to work at home (in Australia, Germany and Canada), exchanging drafts and ideas and sudden realisations. It has been enormously interesting and intellectually rewarding, and our first thanks are given to C.A. Hope of Monash University whose archaeological fieldwork recovered the texts and who entrusted their publication to ourselves. Colin has been generous and supportive, and is of course the authority on the site of Ismant el-Kharab.

Further, we are indebted in many ways both personal and professional to all our colleagues on the Dakhleh Oasis Project. It has been one of the most stimulating and friendly environments one could hope to have, and we are fortunate to have received this opportunity. We cannot mention everyone by name, but in particular we are most grateful to A.J. Mills, who inaugurated and led the Dakhleh Oasis Project from the start (of which the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab developed as a constituent part). Also Lesley Mills, who has ensured such a warm and welcoming atmosphere at the various dig houses over the years; Gillian Bowen, for her infectious energy and interest in our work; and all the other leading colleagues on the project for their incredible expertise on everything under the Saharan sun, especially Olaf Kaper, Fred Leemhuis, Mary McDonald, Rufus Churcher, and many others with much affection. We are also grateful for the support given by all the members of the Supreme Council of Antiquities who have facilitated our work in Egypt over many years.

A special thanks is due to our papyrological colleagues working on the Greek texts recovered from both this site and elsewhere in the Oasis. We have worked closely for many years with both Klaas Worp and Roger Bagnall, and profited constantly from their incomparable knowledge of fourth-century Egypt. Both have read drafts of this volume, as also have C.A. Hope and G.E. Bowen, and we are most grateful for the help and

suggestions from all. The Coptic texts in this volume must be read together with the Greek documents published by our colleagues, which enrich and clarify content and context in a great many ways.

Over the years we have used photographs taken variously by Bruce Parr, Robert Colvin and Colin Hope. A selection of these are reproduced as plates in the volume. However, a major step forward occurred in early 2009 when Jay Johnston of the University of Sydney visited Dakhleh and took the digital photographs supplied with this volume on disc. This has made a crucial difference to our being able to complete the volume, and we are indeed grateful to her and also to Michael Myers for post-production of the images in Sydney.

We have at various times received financial grants (for travel, accommodation, consumables and so on) from a number of learned and charitable institutions, and we are enormously grateful for this necessary aid to our work to: The Australian Research Council; The Australian Academy of Humanities; Fonds de recherche du Québec - Société et Culture; The Egyptology Society of Victoria; The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust; The Faculty of Arts at Monash University; The School of Letters, Art and Media at the University of Sydney. We also wish to thank the various institutions at which we have worked for both the time and facilities to complete this publication, especially The University of Sydney.

A few final comments may be made about the process of producing this volume. The research has been collaborative and no individual author is responsible for any single text or group of such. Anthony Alcock was the first to view and study many of the fragments that had been recovered, and his early draft translations helped each of us to see how we might read and understand them. The overall project to produce both volumes in the series has been led by Iain Gardner, and during 2010 and 2011 he worked to collate the material we had generated over the years into a coherent and ordered compilation, including the writing of all the introductory material found here, so as to actually achieve a final publication of these important documents. He is largely responsible for the

collation of fragments, the reconstruction and description of actual documents, and arranging them into groups according to familial relations or other criteria. Wolf-Peter Funk generated an invaluable concordance for all the Coptic texts, and his work especially on dialect and his linguistic expertise placed the project on secure foundations. He has also produced the indices. Final responsibility for the volume is taken by Iain Gardner, with the warmest of thanks to his colleagues and friends of many years.

Iain Gardner, Sydney

Anthony Alcock, Kassel

Wolf-Peter Funk, Québec

February 2013

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this volume is to complete the publication of Coptic documents recovered at the site of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) by the excavations directed by C.A. Hope. This archaeological project began in 1986 and almost from the start (1987) Coptic material was recovered. The first finds from House 1, House 2 and the North Building were relatively minor, with much the greatest mass from House 3 in the 1990-91 and 1991-92 seasons. There were then some important pieces from House 4 in the 1992-93 season; after which only occasional and mostly rather poor fragments during the following years, all from the Temple area and mainly from strata relating to domestic purposes after the Tutu Temple itself had fallen into disuse about the 330s C.E. The final pieces published here were recovered in 1997, and although archaeological work has continued at various places across the site there have been no publishable finds of Coptic since that year. What is noticeable is that texts written in Coptic have been found only in structures of particular purpose (domestic) and from a clearly defined time-span (second half of the IVth century with ancient Kellis deserted by 400 C.E.). Of course, texts in other languages and scripts are similarly associated with particular find sites and time-spans, with Greek material the most ubiquitous at the site overall. Interestingly, neither the churches nor the Christian cemeteries have yielded Coptic material (but one may note that such were mostly found to be devoid of any texts whatsoever).

This is the second volume of *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, and really they form two halves of a single work. In particular, the first volume ended part-way through the publication of texts that had been recovered from House 3, and this sequence continues directly through the greater part of the second. The two volumes together present much the largest quantity of Coptic documents dated prior to 400 C.E. to have ever been made available to modern scholarship. In the following fairly brief introduction we shall not repeat the extensive detailed sections found in the introduction to the first volume. That would tend to being repetitive; and, besides, the volume is already too large and too long-delayed for such an undertaking. Details about prosopography, or weights and measurements, or commodities, can be tracked through the indices; and we have also

included sub-introductions to each section that will provide direction to the reader. Instead, in the following pages we will attempt some summary remarks about the finds of Coptic documentary material from Ismant el-Kharab as a whole. Whether there were particular circumstances at play in ancient Kellis, and whether these findings can be regarded as statistically significant or applicable to the situation elsewhere, are relevant questions; but in the absence of anything really comparable they are difficult to answer. We will make such suggestions as seem to be warranted by the available evidence, even though they may be somewhat hypothetical. We hope to show that the finds have wider utility for an understanding of the development of Coptic in its crucial early phase.

Although the quantity of material recovered is remarkable, especially in comparison with the relative paucity of Coptic documents from this period elsewhere available, it presents various problems for the historian (and indeed for the papyrologist). There are the obvious difficulties of poorly preserved fragments, incomplete documents, missing text, uncertain readings and so on. Further, the great majority of the documents are letters or memoranda belonging to late fourth-century villagers writing to family, friends and associates. Little is given in the way of explanatory context, much is presumed knowledge between persons who knew each other well. In comparison to Greek documents of the same period, there are not really any dates given, witnesses cited, authorities invoked or legal processes involved. There are a certain number of epistolary conventions, which do make easier the reading of difficult passages and reconstruction of fragmentary lines, but they are mostly to do with rather mundane and formulaic matters of greeting and farewell. All of this makes for difficult reading, a considerable amount of repetition and obscurity, and major problems in terms of reconstructing the relationships between the persons concerned (especially as the authors rarely provide patronymics and are rather fond of abbreviated names). Nevertheless, concentrated study of the material provides a remarkable opportunity to understand the lives of ordinary persons, and the peculiar features of the collection (especially in terms of language, gender, religion and occupation) make a real contribution to our understanding of a pivotal moment in late antique society.

In the first volume<sup>1</sup> we made as detailed a study of the dating as seemed possible. Although we now have more extensive data, our conclusions remain the same in all essential details. That is: the archaeological context (stratigraphy, ceramics, coins etc.) corresponds to general historical processes (including the spread of Christianity), as well as dating mechanisms such as palaeography, to make a fourth century date for almost all the Coptic documents certain. Efforts to be more exact than that largely depend on analysis of the economic data in the documents (specifically the commodity prices in a period of high inflation) and cross-referencing through prosopography to dated Greek contracts from the same find sites. These factors enabled us to make more precise conclusions, and we argued that the evidence places the great majority of the Coptic documents, indeed all about which we can ascertain substantial data, in an approximate quarter century from ca. 355-380+ C.E. This gives a satisfying and rather tight chronological context, and one that corresponds to broader historical changes during the decades leading up to the accession of Theodosius.

We can detail the gross number of texts corresponding to find site:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See especially the summary in CDT I, pp. 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> For the archaeological context of documents from Houses 1-3: C.A. Hope, 'The Archaeological Context', in CDT I, pp. 96ff. For House 4: G.E. Bowen, C.A. Hope and O.E. Kaper, 'A Brief Report on the Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in 1992-93', *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*, 4, 1993: 25-6. On the dating of the structure: C.A. Hope, 'Observations on the Dating of the Occupation at Ismant el-Kharab', in C.A. Marlow, A.J. Mills, eds., *The Oasis Papers I*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2001: 54-5. For the Temple area: All but one of the documents derive from Area D/8 which is not technically a part of the actual Temple complex in that its function does not relate it to the religious activity carried out there, and also it cannot be accessed from the Temple. It appears to post-date the use of the Temple for religious purposes. Cf. C.A. Hope, 'Excavations in the Settlement of Ismant el-Kharab in 1995-1999', in C.A. Hope, G.E. Bowen, eds., *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994-1995 to 1998-1999 Field Seasons*, Oxford 2002: 199-204. For D/2 (the *mammisi*): There is an overview of the



Group 1 = Houses 1, 2 and 3 (including the North Building). The house ‘numbers’ represent nothing more than the sequence in which the structures were excavated. These structures are contiguous, and although in strict archaeological terms they represent different building histories, as regards the textual finds there are such common features across them (including fragments of single documents found in separate structures and the strong probability of family relationships across the buildings) that we see little point for our purposes here in distinguishing them. Of course, much the greatest quantity of textual material (Greek as well as Coptic) came from House 3.

Group 2 = House 4. This structure is also in the domestic Area A at Ismant el-Kharab, and of the same approximate date as the previous, though of more elaborate construction. However, it is several hundred metres away, and must be supposed to have had distinct series of inhabitants.

Group 3 = Area D. This corresponds to some scattered finds of Coptic documents from sites evidencing domestic re-use within the old Temple area. Dating can not be so exact for these pieces, but they would still come from the same half century 340-390 C.E. as the groups 1 and 2. This is probable because the evidence we have is that the Temple dedicated to Tutu fell into disuse in the 330s. The Coptic documents will postdate this event. However, apart from this, there is little unity to this group (although they do make an interesting contrast in terms of dialect and to some extent orthography as compared to group 1).

### **Total numbers of Coptic texts (including literary pieces)**

#### Group 1 (Houses 1-3 and North Building):

Letters:	177
(of which are published:	110)
Accounts, lists, etc.:	6
Writing exercise:	1

---

decoration and function of the room is O.E. Kaper, 'Pharaonic-style Decoration in the Mammisi at Ismant el-Kharab: New Insights after the 1996-1997 Season', in Hope and Bowen, eds., *op. cit.* 2002: 217-23.

Jar stopper:	1
New Testament:	2
Works of Mani:	2
Other Manichaean literature:	10
Magic (?):	2
Coptic / Syriac glossaries:	2
(other Syriac:	6)

Group 2 (House 4):

Letters:	3
(of which are published:	3)
Accounts, lists:	1
Other Manichaean literature:	1
Magic:	1

Group 3 (Temple area):

Letters:	19
(of which are published:	3)
Accounts, lists:	1
Magic:	1
(‘Old Coptic’ letter	1)
(other Syriac:	1)

There are a number of issues with this list, including matters of genre (e.g. ‘magic’ is itself problematic), but also with the totals given. In particular, it is probably impossible to give an absolute total number of documents (n.b. this is a calculation of the number of discrete productions, not of the number of actual texts). For instance, we list here 177 letters from Group 1, of which 110 are now published. These figures must necessarily remain open to debate. Firstly, there is the question of genre: For instance, **69** is really a kind of affidavit rather than a letter; **123** is essentially a receipt, though in epistolary form; and then there are other pieces that are just notes of various kinds or primarily

concerned with recording business dealings (e.g. 114). Further, as one moves down from the well-preserved pieces of clear purpose the remains become increasingly fragmentary, until at the extreme end one is left with small scraps which could conceivably be joined to other pieces, or even in the worst cases where one is unsure if it is Coptic or Greek (when only a couple of letters are hardly visible). Nevertheless, we think it important to try to calculate the gross number of original documents, as it gives an idea of the magnitude of the find and also enables some statistics to be calculated.

In what follows we are concerned exclusively with the documentary texts proper, that is the letters and the associated accounts and lists. As already noted, the boundaries between these categories are somewhat blurred, in that some of the 'letters' are hardly more than memoranda themselves, and may provide very similar information to the 'accounts' but contained within epistolary conventions. Certainly, the household accounts were produced by some of the same persons as the letters. On this matter of blurred boundaries, one must of course emphasise that some of the Greek documents (and literature) from the same sites, especially group 1, were undoubtedly produced by the same people as some of the Coptic. We will return to the question of bilingualism below.

To turn now to the question of what writing surface was used. Of the 183 letters and accounts found from group 1 sites, 163 were written on papyrus, 8 on wooden boards, 1 on parchment and 1 is an ostrakon. However, this total is derived from 177 letters and 6 accounts, but of the 8 for which wooden boards were used 4 of those were in fact accounts (i.e. 4 out of 6) and 4 were letters (i.e. 4 out of 177). It is apparent that wood was preferred for the accounts. This point is confirmed (though statistically useless) from group 2 where the 3 letters are on papyrus and the 1 account is on wood. Issues of genre are more complicated in group 3 and we refrain from including that data here. In fact, evidence elsewhere confirms that the use of wooden boards for writing letters was unusual.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See the recent listing by K.A. Worp, *A New Survey of Greek, Coptic, Demotic and Latin Tabulae Preserved from Classical Antiquity*, version 1.0 (February 2012) = Trismegistos

Incidentally, as an aside regarding the literary material: The 2 New Testament texts and the 2 by Mani are all on papyrus, i.e. from codices; however, the 2 Coptic-Syriac glossaries are on wooden boards, and of the 11 listed as ‘other Manichaean literature’ (which are mostly psalms and prayers) 7 are on wooden boards. This use of wood may partly be accounted for in terms of communal usage and catechetical purpose.

For both papyrus and wood there is evidence of a great deal of re-use, and writing material was obviously a valuable and sometimes scarce commodity. In the archive there are some extreme examples where almost every available square centimetre has been used (e.g. **19**, **58**, **94**), and certainly one can find correlations between patterns of papyrus usage and sub-sets of authors / scribes, which may be related to socio-economic factors. For instance, **29** is marked by its expansive margins, and we note that the author Piene is in the entourage of the Teacher (the Manichaean leader in Egypt) with whom he will travel to Alexandria. Writing to his mother in distant and provincial Kellis, the format is a kind of statement about how well her son is doing. In contrast, the group entitled ‘Petros’ letters repeatedly evidence the author using scrap pieces of second-hand papyrus, to which practice he himself refers in **39**, **20**.

There is need for a systematic typology of the papyrus sheets used for the letters found at Ismant el-Kharab. We do not have all the data available that would be needed to achieve this (especially across time-spans and languages / scripts). However, it is apparent that a great many of the Coptic letters used sheets of approximately the same height, between 260-280 mm. The width then varies, with some very thin (about 50-60 mm.) e.g. **36**; others about twice as wide (110-120 mm.) e.g. **20**; and others thrice (about 170-180 mm.) e.g. **19**. Height is almost always greater than width, with the papyrus generally folded in half and then rolled into the characteristic tube shape that would be tied with the address

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Online Publications #6 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php>). It is noticeable that letters are almost non-existent amongst the types of texts represented in Greek and Coptic from Egypt, with the rather interesting exception of those from Douch in the Khargeh Oasis.

visible on the outer surface. Sometimes the same author (or perhaps better the scribe) used papyrus of almost exactly the same dimensions, and wrote in the same format, and often indeed phrasing, for the letter. This is valuable evidence that should be collated as regards scribal practice and ‘workshops’. Equally, it would be interesting to look across the multiple letters sent by a single more prolific author from the archive (e.g. Makarios or Pamour or Pegosh) to determine patterns of format and style. It is apparent that authors utilised particular scribes or workshops on multiple occasions, and at other times (for whatever reasons?) went elsewhere.

When we first envisaged this introduction one of the issues that we most wanted to investigate and discuss was the social usage of language in Egypt’s bilingual culture of late antiquity. However, it has been found difficult to detail this statistically. In part, this is because there is no account of the actual numbers of Greek documents found at Ismant el-Kharab either according to category or according to find site. The reason is presumably that Greek documentary papyri are much more common, not just from Ismant el-Kharab but generally from Egypt; and thus there is less interest in accounting for the many hundreds of small fragments without information value. On this matter one can consult Klaas Worp’s introductory comments to his *Greek Papyri from Kellis I* (= P. Kellis I).

Another problem is the difficulty of calculating numbers according to categories of letters, by which we mean that it had originally been hoped to give figures and percentages separated into family letters, business letters and religious. These would then be compared across the language divide. However, such calculations prove extremely difficult partly because such purposes are greatly mixed in the letters, and partly because so many of them are only partially preserved. For such reasons the following comments are not as statistically grounded as one would wish, and rely to some extent on impressions of the material based on our two decades of work.

P. Kellis I published 90 documents in Greek from the ‘group 1’ sites, which volume represents the majority (though certainly not all) of the better-preserved papyri and texts

on wooden boards that were found there. Compared with the Coptic texts from group 1 it must first be emphasised that the Greek documents evidence a much greater time-span of approximately one hundred years from about 290-390 C.E. Whilst it is possible that a few of the Coptic texts might come from the first part of the fourth century, all the available evidence focuses their production in a narrower time-span of approximately 355-380+ C.E, that is (roughly) only the final third of the period represented by the Greek documents. There are two reasons for this difference that immediately occur. The first and demonstrable reason is that no legal or higher administrative documents of formal character survive in the Coptic archive (**69** is the closest to such and thus of especial interest), whereas in the Greek there are many petitions and leases and contracts. This is precisely as one would expect: The use of Coptic for legal purposes is not generally to be found before the mid-sixth century.<sup>4</sup> The occupants of the house have preserved documents of lasting value, and these are written in Greek. The second and unprovable reason is that widespread use of Coptic even for more informal purposes such as letters and household accounts, at least for the social groups represented here, may not have begun until about the mid-fourth century. This is an important issue to pursue, but problematic because of the lack of precise dates for such material.

To turn now purely to the letters preserved in Greek, we count 25 published in P. Kellis I. Unfortunately we do not know the total number of such that were found. However, there are published 110 Coptic letters from the same group 1 sites, and even given that what is 'publishable' in fourth century Coptic (due to relative scarcity) is different to what is regarded as 'publishable' in Greek, it would appear that this particular social group favoured letter-writing in Coptic in the latter half of the fourth century. Indeed, if we can be indulged recording our impressions here (which are difficult to quantify), most of the Greek letters are of prosaic purpose and a number are indeed listed as 'business letters'. Of course, these exist in the Coptic archive as well, but it is a clear impression that Coptic was favoured for the personal and the familial.

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<sup>4</sup> See the discussion in R.S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*, Berkeley 2011: 86.

Let us be as exact as we can. For religion, which amongst this group is essentially Manichaeism (and one wonders to what extent this makes a special case), there is only one Greek letter published that contains explicit evidence of such faith: P. Kellis I Gr. 63. Interestingly, this piece is not related in terms of prosopography to the Manichaean believers familiar from the Coptic archive, and also the editor dates it on both prosopographic and palaeographic grounds to the first part of the fourth century. This raises the hypothesis that by the latter half of the century Coptic had become the preferred vehicle for such expressions of faith.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, we count at least 23 of the 110 Coptic letters from group 1 to be published that have reasonably explicit expressions of Manichaean faith, by which we mean reference to the ‘Paraclete’ or the ‘Light Mind’ or suchlike; (of course prosopographical grouping shows that a much higher percentage of the total were written by people who can reasonably be supposed to have been Manichaeans).

As regards gender: this is one matter that can to some extent be statistically demonstrated. One can calculate the number of the Coptic letters from group 1 that were either written by or to a woman, or which directly address (not just name or greet) a female recipient. Of the 177 total many are too fragmentary to be of any use, but our admittedly rather rough count (i.e. including a number of assumptions that can not always be clearly demonstrated) of the others came to 43 out of 98. We might give some latitude for error and say in excess of 40%. Using the same criteria, we count 2 out of the 25

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<sup>5</sup> There is at least one other Greek letter from House 3 with strong religious terminology, but it was deemed too poorly preserved to be publishable. The terminology is broadly Christian (i.e. rather than ‘pagan’), but that characterisation could easily include Manichaeism in this context. There is also the unanswerable question as to why certain authors occasionally used Greek rather than Coptic. P. Kellis I Gr. 67, 71 and 72 can all be included in sub-sets of the Coptic letters. For instance, 71 clearly belongs with at least 9 other letters in Coptic written by Pamour and his wife Maria from the Nile valley to family in Kellis. Why this letter was in Greek we can not say.

Greek letters in this category, i.e. less than 10%. We think that these figures are significant; and that for this social group in the latter 4<sup>th</sup> century there is a correlation between Coptic, family, gender and religious expression. It is well known that women are relatively invisible (with important exceptions) in the Greek documentary record from late antique Egypt.<sup>6</sup> However, this is certainly not the case in the Coptic archive discussed here.

Of course, there are unique features to this material. As regards the social group represented by our group 1 texts there are a preponderance of letters written by men (husband, fathers, brothers and sons) working in the Nile valley and writing to their womenfolk in Kellis. At the same time, the women in Kellis seem to have been involved in textile production, and at least one of the household accounts is explicitly written by a woman (44). This combination of circumstances and female economic activity may not be standard, as equally it has been asserted that gender relations in the Manichaean community (analogous perhaps to the medieval Cathars and other sectarians) were atypical.

In sum, the documents published in these two volumes break new ground in certain important respects. In the first place, they provide what is really a unique insight into the social and economic relations of a sectarian group within a late antique village, and furthermore the opportunity to study that group's interaction with other communities with whom they lived side-by-side. Equally, as regards religious culture, one is presented with a snap-shot of faith and practice at a crucial moment of major transformation (i.e. to a Christian, and indeed 'Coptic', culture). Whilst this picture is not necessarily entirely representative of the situation elsewhere, it is nevertheless illuminating as regards its complexity and the variety of competing forces that are evident.

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<sup>6</sup> However, see J. Rowlandson, *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt. A Sourcebook*, Cambridge 1998; also R.S. Bagnall, R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt. 200 B.C - A.D. 800*, with Contributions by E. Ahtaridis, Ann Arbor 2006.



Further, these documents are a major step forward in redressing the imbalance caused by reading the history of fourth century Egypt from Greek, male, urban or monastic sources (to list a number of the more obvious problems). Here there is a voice for the indigenous population, women are very visible, and the experience of life on the (supposed) periphery, i.e. the Oasis and village, weighs against the preponderance of sources from metropolitan centres and seats of authority whether ecclesiastical or secular.

Finally, the texts in these two volumes provide data by which to test many of the standard assumptions about life in late antiquity, about literacy and the role of women, about communications and travel, about a multilingual society and normative forms of belief and practice, even about emotion and expression in ancient letter-writing. We hope in these publications to have given a voice to these documents, to have achieved the understanding that they surely deserve.

## ABBREVIATIONS

CD	W.E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1939.
CDT	<i>Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis</i> (i.e. the series of which this is the second volume and P. Kellis V is the first).
DOP	The Dakhleh Oasis Project.
frg/s.	Fragment/s of papyrus.
Inv #	Object inventory and papyrus deposit numbers used by the DOP. These correspond to the glass frames in which papyri are conserved.
KAB	R. Bagnall, (ed.), <i>The Kellis Agricultural Account Book</i> , (= P. Kellis IV Gr. 96), DOP monograph 7, Oxford 1997.
<i>IKeph</i>	H.-J. Polotsky, A. Böhlig, W.-P. Funk, eds., <i>Kephalaia</i> , Stuttgart 1940, 1966, 1999, 2000.
KLT	<i>Kellis Literary Texts</i> (i.e. the series in which P. Kellis II and VI have been published).
lh / rh	left hand / right hand (here generally used of margins).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , new ed. H.S. Jones, Oxford 1940 (9 <sup>th</sup> ed. plus 1996 revised supplement).
<i>Namen</i>	M. Hasitzka, <i>Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten</i> (resource at <a href="http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf">http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf</a> ).
<i>PsBk2</i>	C.R.C. Allberry, ed., <i>A Manichaean Psalm-Book II</i> , Stuttgart 1938.
r	Recto (generally the start and principal part of a document).
tr	Transverse (here generally text written in the margin of a letter)
v	Verso (generally the address of a letter and sometimes additional text)
SCA #	Supreme Council for Antiquities (previously Egyptian Antiquities Organisation, EAO) registration number. The SCA numbers have been recorded for some wooden boards and ostraca as an aid to finding these pieces in the official inventory books and storage facilities. In contrast, substantial finds of papyrus were generally grouped together in the inventory books under a single SCA #; and this is why such are not recorded here.

## HOUSE 3

The great majority of texts edited and published in this volume are from House 3. The situation was the same in CDT I (= P. Kellis V). This is because the excavations at this domestic structure in Area A, which took place over two field-seasons (1990-91 and 1991-92), recovered such an enormous quantity of inscribed material. In contrast, there have been relatively few texts written in Coptic found elsewhere in Ismant el-Kharab; and the causes and implications of this are discussed in the introduction. What it does mean is that the documents in the two volumes need to be studied together to achieve an holistic understanding of the material, and readers will find here constant cross-references to texts from the first volume.

It is also important to reference the many documents written in Greek, and also recovered from House 3, published by Klaas Worp in P. Kellis I. Some of these were written by or for or sent to the very same persons as in the Coptic letters and business accounts. Translations of the most important of these are provided in this volume for ease of reference; but this does not substitute for studying that earlier volume. However, it may be noted that the Greek documents from House 3 cover a full century from the end of the third to the end of the fourth. As far as can be determined, the Coptic documents are all to be dated to the final forty years of habitation, from approximately 355 C.E. Whether this fact tells us anything about the spread of Coptic as a medium for writing, or is simply the result of the kinds of texts kept by the inhabitants, is a difficult but interesting question.

Mention must also be made of the KAB (= P. Kellis IV), written in Greek and edited by Roger Bagnall. Although this was found in House 2, it is to be dated either to the early 360s or later 370s, and thus belongs to exactly the same period as the many Coptic letters published in these two volumes. The account refers to a great many persons from Kellis and its vicinity, as well as detailing prices and commodities, and some of these are most probably the same individuals as in the Coptic documents. Finally, one should consult KLT I and II (= P. Kellis II and VI). These literary texts in Coptic, Greek and Syriac, of

which again the majority were recovered from House 3, provide evidence of the reading of the inhabitants, which was primarily religious and most specifically Manichaean (on the whole). Some of the texts may actually have been written by persons we encounter in the Coptic letters, a number of which refer to the copying of such material.

**LETTER ON A WOODEN BOARD  
(WITH TRACES OF AN EARLIER TEXT IN SYRIAC)**

**P. Kellis Copt. 57**

**Inv #:** A/5/280 + A/5/260

**SCA #:** 2113

**Location:** House 3, room 11, deposit 3

**Preservation:** An almost square wooden board in two parts. Coated, and written on both sides (A and B). 68 x 70mm; lh and upper margins of 6mm.

**Content:** A short letter written in Coptic; but poorly preserved. Above the first line (and perhaps also at its start?) there are traces of Syriac from a previous text of unknown type. The positioning of the Syriac may indicate that this board has been cut anew from a larger tablet on which the earlier text was inscribed, and thus suggests that the former was no longer regarded as of value.

**Address:** No address.

**Names:** P- (?); Pshai;

**Text:**

- traces of Syriac text
- A1 ΠΑΪΩΤ ΜΗΕ[Ρ]ΙΤ ΕΤΤΑΪΔΙΤ Ν  
 2 ΤΟΤ ΤΟ[Ν]ΟΥ Π . . . ΑΝΔΚ  
 3 ΠΩΔΙ ΖΗ ΠΧ[ΔΙC ΧΑΙ]ΡΕΙΝ  
 4 [†]ΩΙΝΕ ΑΡΑΚ ΤΟΝΟΥ[Υ . . . ] . . . .  
 5 [ . . . ] . ΔΪΩΠ Δ . . . [ . . . ] . . .  
 6 [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . . . . . . . . ] .  
 7 †ΩΙΝΕ Δ . [ . . . ] . . . . ΚΗ  
 8 . . Ϊ . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 9 . . ΝΤΑΡ[ . . . . . . . . . ] . . .  
 10 . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . Π[ . . . ] ΟΨ  
 B11 ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΤΕC ΝΗΪ ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ  
 12 ΨΑΤ[Ε]ΚΧΟC †CΑΥΝΕ ΓΑΡ  
 13 ΝΤΚΜΪΤΗΑΪΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ  
 14 ΚΑΝ[ . . ] Ε . . . . ΤΚ ΔΥΝΑΔ  
 15 ΝΖΝΟ Ν . [ . . ] . . . . Μ ΝΗΪ  
 16 ΜΝΚ . . [ . . ] . . . . . . . . .  
 17 ΡΠΖΩΒ Ρ[ . . . ] . . . . . . . . .  
 18 ΜΠΩΡΡΑ[ΜΕΛΕΙ] . . . . . . . . .  
 19 ΧΕ †ΧΡΙΑ [ . . . . . ] . . . . . . . . .

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12 ΨΑΤ[Ε]ΚΧΟC: ψ- ex 2- corr.

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(A) My loved father, who is greatly honoured by me, P- (?). (It is) I, Pshai; in the Lord, - greetings.

I greet you warmly ... (5) ... I counted (?) ... I greet ... (10) ... (B) for they did not give it to me. They say: “(Not) until you say so”. For I know your love of people, that ... a great (15) thing ... for me ... do the thing you ... Do not [neglect to] ... for I am in need [of] ...

**Commentary:**

13 ΜΪΤΗΑΪΡΩΜΕ: i.e. equivalent to the Greek φιλανθρωπία.

**TEXTS PERHAPS ADDITIONAL TO GROUPS PUBLISHED IN VOLUME 1**

There follow three pieces that may belong to groups of texts published in CDT I. It is most probable that **58** is another letter by Orion<sup>7</sup> (**15-18**); but the connections suggested for the others are rather speculative. The pieces have no particular association with each other beyond this organisational matter. If they do not belong to previous groups they can be counted as unplaced within the general corpus.

**P. Kellis Copt. 58**

**Inv #:** P 17EE

**Location:** House 3, room 10, deposit 3

**Preservation:** A mostly complete business letter written on two sides (both ^, thus with side B perpendicular to side A), now breaking along the folds. The remains are 113 x 95 mm.; but the original dimensions were probably about 10 mm. greater at the top of side A (and thus ca. 123 x 95 mm.). We think that only one or two lines are missing at the start of A; and perhaps five or so letters at the end of each line on side B. Line 37 must be the final one.

**Content:** Substantially of business content and concerning textiles. In this it is similar to P. Kellis Copt. **18** (written by Orion to Tehat). The hand is also very much the same, and the find spot is identical (see the summary on p. 336 of P. Kellis V). Consequently, although neither sender nor recipient are named in **58**, we are fairly certain that the author is again Orion and the recipient may well be Tehat. It is also reasonable to identify the person of Lauti in this piece with the Lautine of the other (**18**, 3; see also **17**, 4); and we think that there is a certain brother Saren common to both pieces. On the other hand,

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<sup>7</sup> In CDT I the name was always spelt Horion for 'Ωρίων, following K.A. Worp's usage in P. Kellis I. However, on reconsideration, we regard this spelling to be a better choice.

Talaphanti connects it to the Makarios family, so that the text can be associated with two of the main groups represented in CDT I.

**Address:** No visible address, and it is difficult to see how there could have been space for one.

**Names:** Erakl<ei> (Herakles); Lauti (= Lautine?); Saren; Talaphanti; Tharre (?);

**Text:**

A(x + 1)[ . . . . ] . . . ΝΚΛΕΥΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΕΤ  
 2     ΑΤΕΤΝΤΝΝΑΥC ΝΗΪ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΑΤΝCΖΕΪ ΧΕ Α  
 3     ΩΩΠΕ ΕΚΟΥΑΩC ΚΑC ΝΕΚ Η ΝΜΑΝ ΜΝΤ  
 4     ΩΑΜΤΕ ΝΩΕ ΝΒΝΩΡ ΖΑΪCΖΕΪ ΔΕ ΝΗΤΝ Μ  
 5     ΠΖΟΥ ΕΤΝΜΟ ΧΕ ΖΑΪΤΕΕC ΝΝCΖΗΗΥ ΜΝΤΕΤΝ  
 6     ΟΥΩ †ΝΑ†CΟΥΝΤC ΝΗΤΝ ΖΑ ΛΑΥ† ΧΟC ΝΗΪ  
 7     ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕΚΟΥΑΩC †ΝΑΝΤC ΝΕΚ ΝΜΝ[Τ]  
 8     [C]ΝΑΥC ΝΩΦ ΝΠΙΧΙ CΕΧΕ ΝΤΟΤC ΠΑΧΕΪ ΧΕ ΜΝ  
 9     ΧΡΙΑ †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΤΑΡΩΩΕ ΝΖΕ ΝΙΜ  
 10    [ . . ΠΜΑ Ε]ΤΕΤΝΑΔΝΤΟΥ ΝΜΑC ΜΝΩΤΑΕΟΥ  
 11    [ΖΑΤΕΤΝ]† ΝΗΪ ΝΟΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΕCΕ ΝΑΩΗ  
 12    [ΡΕ . . . . ΝΕ]CΖΑΜΤ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΕΟΥ ΖΑ ΝΚΕΧΡΙ  
 13    [Α . . . . . ]ΤΝΝΑΥ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΖΩΒ †ΝΑΧΙ  
 14    ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑ . . . . . †ΡΑΖΙΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΜΩΤΝ  
 15    ΜΠΙΚΕΟΥΕ ΑΝΟ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΑΔΝ ΖΗΝΕ CΝΤΕ ΕΝΑ  
 16    ΝΟΥΟΥ ΕΥΩΜΑΤ ΕΙC ΠΤΚΜΑ ΑΪΤΝΝΑΥC ΝΗΤΝ  
 17    Η ΝΤΑC ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΑΔΝ CΑΡΤ ΜΠΟΥΔΟΥΕΝ ΝΤΕΤΝ  
 18    ΤΡΟΥΖΕCΤΟΥ ΕΥΩΜΑΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΩΑ ΦΑΡΡΗ  
 19    ΝΤΑΛΑΦΑΝΤΙ ΤΑΝΑΥ ΝΝCΖΟΝΕ ΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΩ ΚΩΤΕ  
 20    ΑΝ ΝCΕCΑΡΤ ΜΠΙΜΑ CΖΕΪ ΝΕΝ     ἔρρ(ωσο)  
 B21    ΝΙΖΗΝΕ ΜΝ ΝΙ[ΚΛΕ]CΤ ΝΕΠΝCΑΝ ΝΕ CΑΡΗΝ ΕCΝΑΪ ΔΕ Ε[ . . . . . ]  
 22    ΖΕΛΔΗΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΤΟ[ΝΟΥ] . CΖΩΝ ΗΡΑΚΛ<ΕΙ> ΔCΖΕΪ ΑΤΡΟΥΪ ΔΟΥΑΖΕ ΤΑ[ΒΩΚ Δ]

23 ΜΕΥ ΠΤΑΝΘ ΑΡΩ[Τ]Ν̄ ϞΟΥΩΨ ΠΖΗΝΕ ΔΣΗΝ̄ΤΟΥ ΠΖΠ̄ΘΩΡΑΞ̄ [ . . . . . ]  
 24 ΤΗ Π̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν̄ ΔΝ̄ Ε̄Τ[Ν]ΔΟΥΑΧΟΥ ΗΝ̄ ΠΟΥΡΨΩΝ̄ Μ̄ΝΔ ϞΝΟ Π̄ [ . . . . Ρ ]  
 25 ΨΩΝ ΟΥΜΝΑ Μ̄Ν [ . . . ] Ε̄ Π̄ΣΑΤΕΡ̄Ε̄ Π̄Ψ†Τ̄ ΗΔ̄ Μ̄ ΠΙΡΨΩΝ̄ [ . . . . . ]  
 26 Π̄ΠΙΜΑ Ε̄ϞΝΑΤ̄Η[ΝΔ]ΥΣ ΔΝ̄ ΝΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΔΟΥΑΧΕ ΟΥΕ ΒΑΛ̄ Μ̄ . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 27 ΠΒΕΚΕ ΣΩΖ̄ Ε/ ΧΕ . [ . . ] ΖΙΣΕ ΑΡΑῙ Μ̄ ΟΥΖΑΛΑΚ[Δ]ΤΙ ΧΕ ΧΑΥϞ . [ . . . . . ]  
 28 Π̄ΠΙΧΙΤ̄Ϟ̄ ΨΑΤΕΤ[Ε]Ϟ̄ ΝΗΤΝ ΑΨΩΠΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΡ̄ ΠΖΩΒ Ψ [ . . . . Μ ]  
 29 ΜΑΝ̄ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΚ̄Δ[ . . ] . Π̄ΛΑΥΕ \ΕΝ/ . . . . ΟΥΤ̄Ε ΖΙΤΝ Π̄ΡΩΜΕ Π [ . . . . . ]  
 30 ΑΠ̄Ϟ̄ΤΩΔΣ ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Χ̄ [ . . ] Π̄ΟΥΡΜ̄Η̄[Ι]Ε̄ ΠΕ<Τ>Π̄ΡΑΜ̄ΕΛῙ Π̄ΜΑϞ ΤΖΗΜ̄[Ε . . . . . ]  
 31 ΑΡΑϞ̄ ΧΕ ΕΟΥΑΣΠ [ . . . . . Π̄ ] Π̄ΕϞ̄ΤΕϞ̄ ΠΑΧΕϞ̄ ΧΕ Μ̄ Φ [ . . . . . ]  
 32 ΧΑΥΣ ΝΗ̄Ι ΔΟΥΑΖ̄[Ε . . . ΔΚΡΙ]ΒΩΣ ΗΝ̄ ΤϞ̄ΠΟΥΔΗ ΕΤΕΤ̄Π̄ΙΡ̄Ε̄ [ΜΜΑΣ Ϟ ]  
 33 †ΕΑΥ ΝΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΤΟΖ̄ . . /Δ [ . . . . . Δ ] Μ̄ΕΛῙ ΑΛΑΥΕ ΠΖΩΒ Π̄Ρ [ . . . . . ]  
 34 ΔΜ̄ΕΛῙ ΔΝΗΖ̄Ε ΔΖ [ . . . . . Μ ] ΗΩΤ̄Ν̄ ΑΡΑϞ̄ ΜΑΣΤΑΠ̄Λ[δ ΖΩΒ ]  
 35 ΝΙΜ Π̄ΨΑΡΠ̄ Π̄ . [ . . . . . ] Τ̄Π̄Ν̄ΔΥ ΤΖΑΪΤΕ Π̄ . [ . . . . . ]  
 36 ΨΙΝΕ ΔΝΕΙ ΖΑΤΗΤ[Π̄ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ψ]ΙΝΕ Δ [ . ] Δ . [ . . . ] Ε̄ ΜΝ . [ . . . . . ]  
 37 ΨΙΝ̄Ε ΔΠ̄ . . [ . . . . . ]

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8 Π̄ΠΙΧΙ ΣΕΧΕ: the text has been emended before ΣΙ, and we suppose that the first person sing. is intended although it is by no means clear 21 Ε̄ϞΝᾹΙ: apparently Ε̄Ϟ̄ΝᾹΙ, but probably no superlinear stroke was intended 27 ΣΩΖ̄\Ε/: C- ex Ζ- corr. 29 ΜΑΝ̄: -Η ex corr.

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(A) ... good cowl, like the one which you (pl.) sent off for me. You wrote: "If you like it keep it, or else 1300 talents". So, I wrote to you (5) that day that I had given it to the brothers. Do you have no news? I will give you its price. Lauti told me: "The one that you (sing.) want I will bring it to you for 1200 (talents)". (But) I did not take word from (i.e. 'make an agreement with') him. I said that there is no need. Now, then, will you (pl.) satisfy me in every way? (10) [Wherever] you might find them, it is not possible for me to do them.

[Have you] given me all the news? If so, my children (?) ... his money and you can spend (it) on the other needs ... send you (a message) about this matter. I will receive them for ...

I also ask of you (15) this other (thing), to see whether you can find two good and fine fabrics - see the sample I sent you - or else, can you find wool of their colour and have it spun very fine, like the ones that



Tharre (daughter?) of Talaphanti makes for the women. Also, would you search (20) for wool at the place? Write to us. Farewell.

(B) These fabrics and these cowls belong to our brother Saren. Now, as he will come (would you be?) so very kind ... bid (?) Erakl(ei) to write to get them to come to the Oasis; and I shall [(also?) go] there and see you. He wants the fabrics to be made (into) jerkins ... Also, you are to cut them with their cloak(s): two *mna* for [each?] (25) cloak, one *mna* ... *staters* for large warp and this cloak. (Wool?) from the place he will also send to you, - to cut one from the ... the weaving wage so that [they can] spin for me with a distaff ... send it ... I did not receive it so that I could [give] it to you. If you will do the work ... But, if not, you can not keep (?) anything ... not even (?) from the men. ... (30) for its dye (?).

Can you send an honest man, - <you> did not neglect it? The freight ... to him, so that if they ... He has not given it. He said that there is no ... Send it to me to the Oasis ... precisely, with the speed with which (habitually) you do [it. I] salute you ... [Do not] neglect any work ... never neglect ... you to him. She can not make me settle any [matter] (35) before ... send the garment ...

Greet [all] these with you. Greet ... and ... Greet ...

### Commentary:

One must read carefully the other pieces written by this author, (who we think is Orion, see **15-18**), to have a feeling for his context.

1-10 The sense of this somewhat complicated section seems to be something like this: The author has given a cowl as a free gift to some ‘brothers’; which probably should be understood as alms given to the local Manichaean elect. Now, the weaving workshop that originally sent it to him and to whom he is writing (using the plural ‘you’, but perhaps specifically meaning Tehat) want its price from him. Orion (as we presume) is aggrieved, because he thought that the option of a gift had been clearly stated in their previous correspondence. He also points out that he could have had the same for less from Lauti. Nevertheless, it does not appear to be an enduring problem, because he turns to other news (l. 11); and then in l. 14 begins to discuss further business he would like to conduct with the workshop.

10 A generic place expression (thus ΠΜΔ) would seem to be the most likely antecedent of the resumptive pronoun in ΠΜΔϚ; but how this relates to the preceding context, and what ‘they’ are, remains obscure to us.

11 ερωπε εσε: ‘If so, ..’; lit. ‘If yes, ..’. In our understanding, Orion has now finished with the previous matter of the disputed cowl, and in l. 11 signals a change of topic. Nevertheless, the purpose of the following incomplete passage (before a new matter is introduced with ⲧⲡⲁⲗⲓⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ‘I also ask ..’ in l. 14) is difficult to follow.

18 ⲩⲁⲣⲣⲏ: This should be a personal name according to syntax, i.e. ‘Tharre (daughter) of Talaphanti’. Cf. perhaps the name θαραθης (discussed in H.J. Thissen, ‘Zwischen Theben und Assuan. Onomastische Anmerkungen’, *ZPE*, 90, 1992: 292-296 [294]). However, such a name is not found elsewhere in the House 3 documents, and one might prefer another reading (e.g. instead of ⲩⲁ- one could try Ⲏⲧⲃ-, but we can make no sense of this). Could it somehow have a meaning such as ‘the workshop’ or ‘quarter’ of Talaphanti? On the latter name see P. Kellis V (p. 45).

19 ⲘⲒⲐⲛⲎ: For this previously unattested word used for ‘women’ in the House 3 Coptic archive see the note and further references ad loc. 20, 50. Whether it has any specific meaning within a Manichaean context, or is some kind of variant for ⲘⲐⲛⲎ or ⲘⲒⲓⲛⲎ, is unknown.

20 ⲛⲡⲓⲛⲁ, lit. ‘at this place’: Perhaps one could translate as ‘local’, i.e. is the author simply asking his recipients to look out for some ‘local wool’? The meaning may be the same at ll. 25-26, reading [ⲧⲘⲁⲣⲧ] | ⲛⲡⲓⲛⲁ. In general, it is difficult to determine whether the wool referred to in the many documents about weaving found in House 3 was local or imported from the Nile valley. It may be worth noting that wool is not mentioned in the KAB, but that could simply be because it was a record of crops and harvests rather than goods produced by animals (poultry being the most notable exception). It does occur in a number of Greek documents, including P. Kellis I 71, where Pamour in the valley writes to Pshai in the Oasis and promises to send each year a present of wool for a cloak as payment for the hire of a girl servant. The Greek word ἐρέα indicates that the wool was from sheep rather than goats, whereas the Coptic Ⲙⲁⲣⲧ could be from either animal (CD 356b). In the indices to P. Kellis I see also ἐρίδιον and perhaps πορφύρα (purple-dyed wool?).

ⲩⲣⲣ(ωσο): We presume that side A is the recto (with the opening greetings lost), if only in the sense that it was written first; and side B the verso (with the farewell greetings partially preserved), in that it will have been written after. In that case this formulaic

farewell here was either written in before the actual letter was started, or side B has been added as an afterthought. Compare **17** (also written by Orion); although there are a number of similar examples of this in the archive.

21 Saren (ϢΑΡΗΗ): We think that this must be the same person named as a presbyter in **18**, 22-23. In this case, the text there must be emended to remove the lacuna in the midst of his name, and (see the plate) the relevant small fragment pushed further left to cover the apparent gap. This will make some slight changes to the printed Coptic text of ll. 21-23, but we have not been able to autopsy the papyrus anew.

22 Erakl (ⲬⲢⲁⲕⲗⲀⲓ?): Presumably for Herakles, if we have read this correctly; but whether the same person as in **38** or **48** is unknown. In P. Kellis I Gr. 14 (dated 356 C.E.) an Aurelius Herakles witnesses a contract for an Aurelius Orion. This corresponds rather exactly to the dating that we assigned to the Orion letters in P. Kellis V.

23 Ⲫⲱⲣⲁⲗ: The term is only found this once in the Coptic texts from Ismant el-Kharab, and we have translated it as ‘jerkin(s)’ following LSJ 814a. However, R. Livingstone, who is undertaking a study of the textiles from ancient Kellis, suggests that it might have been a scarf. She quotes U. Rothe: ‘A heavy scarf was sometimes worn by Romans in cold weather. Most commonly it is seen worn by soldiers tucked into the collar of their paenula, but it was sometimes worn with the tunica alone’ (*Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire*, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2009: 41). Whilst this reference is obviously from the other end of the Roman world, Livingstone has no evidence of anything like a jerkin from her research.

27 ϣⲁⲗⲁⲕⲓⲁⲓⲧⲓ: i.e. ἡλακάτη, LSJ 767b, ‘distaff’ (a cleft stick used for spinning); noting the spelling and contemporary date of ἀλακάτιον (a diminutive form) in P. Oxy. 1740.8, LSJ 60a. Alternatively, one might consider ⲗⲁⲕⲟⲧⲈ, CD 140a, a ‘liquid measure, mostly of wine’; but the context favours the former identification.

27-30 Under magnification it is apparent that there must be a slight crease or overlay of the papyrus, as recorded by the digital photograph; so that parts of the letters are obscured. This extends through the following words: l. 27 ϣⲁⲗⲁⲕⲓⲁⲓⲧⲓ; l. 28 ⲓⲧⲈⲧⲢⲏⲁⲖ̄; l. 29 ⲟϣⲧⲓⲈ; l. 30 ⲗⲓⲘⲈⲗⲓ.

30 ⲟϣⲢⲏⲘⲏⲓⲧⲓ: The reading is difficult.

## P. Kellis Copt. 59

**Inv #:** P 40

**Location:** House 3, room 8, deposit 1

**Preservation:** A small rectangular fragment from the upper lh corner of a Coptic letter on papyrus. The restoration suggested for ll. 1-2 (and the position of the address on the v) would indicate that the papyrus letter has split along a midway vertical fold. What remains is similar to the upper rh corner fragment of **36** (see the plate); and one suspects that the original dimensions and shape of this piece would have been similar to that one.

**Content:** This may be another letter by Ouales to Psais and Andreas (**35-37**), thus the speculative restoration of ll. 1-2 corresponding to **36**. The principal connection is prosopographical; but note something of a similar style with the opening in Greek.

**Address:**

verso

τοῖς κυρίοις μου ἀδελφ[οῖς]

To my master brothers ...

**Names:** An[dreas] (?); [Ouales?]; Pshai;

**Text:**

- 1 τοῖς κυρίοις [μου ἀδελφοῖς]
- 2 Ψάϊτι Ἐγ[δρέα Οὐάλης]
- 3 χαίρειν αἰ[ . . . . . ]
- 4 ρε ογε ἡμω[τῆ . . . . . ]
- 5 . . . . . ἀἡ[ . . . . . ]
- 6 ἡμωτῆ εἰ . [ . . . . . ]
- 7 . ἡαν . vac αν[ . . . . . ]
- 8 ατρῆει α . . . [ . . . . . ]

9 [ . . . . ] . . [ . ] . [ . . . . . . . . ]

To [my] master [brothers], Psais (and) Andreas (?). [From Ouales]; - greetings.

I ... [Let] one of you (pl.) ... (5) ... you ... I / We (?) ... to cause us to come to ...

**Commentary:**

7 ΔΗ[ : This is probably the beginning of a new sentence, to be resolved either as ‘I’ (ΔΗ[ΔΚ]); or, in view of the first plural in l. 8, as ‘we’ (conjugation base uncertain).

**P. Kellis Copt. 60**

**Inv #:** P 56C(a)ii

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway

**Preservation:** 9 small rectangular strips of papyrus from a single letter written in a rather tiny script, which has broken along the folds. 4 of the strips join across the top, from which the opening lines of the text can be read (and reconstructed) with reasonable accuracy. The remaining scraps can not be placed and provide no coherent sense. They are not transcribed. There are also traces of another text on the verso.

**Content:** This may be another ‘Petros’ letter, (38-41). Notably, the find site is identical (see the summary on p. 336 of P. Kellis V); and the address corresponds to that of 38. The style of the introduction is also similar; in that it is written to a mother by her son, but without the names of either sender or recipient. Also, all the pieces share the characteristics of being tightly-written on small ‘scrap’ pieces of papyrus.

**Address:**

verso

[τῆ τιμιῶ]τῶτη μου μητρὶ [ X ] ὁ υἱός σου

To my most honoured mother. [ X ] Your son.

**Names:** None.

**Text:**

- 1 [ΤΑΜΟ Μ]ΜΕΡΙ[Τ] ΔΝΑΚ ΠΕ(Κ)ΩΗΡ[Ε]  
 2 [ΠΕΤΣΩ]ΕΙ ΝΕ ΩΜ ΠΧΑΙC ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 3 [ΩΑΘΗ] ΝΩΩΒ ΝΙΜ' †Ω[Ι]ΝΕ ΑΠ[Α]  
 4 [ΪΩΤ] ΜΝ ΝΕΤΩΜ ΠΗΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Κ[ΑΤΑ]  
 5 [ΝΟΥΡ]ΕΝ [[. ]]ΜΝΝCΩC †Ρ... [.....]  
 6 [.....]. C Μ[Π]ΕΤΝ† [ΠΩ]ΩΒ ΝΗΪ..... ]  
 7 [... ] ΝΕΩ [... ]. ΕΙC . [.....]  
 8 [.....] ΥΑΝ Ν . [.....]  
 9 [.....] . ΩΠ[.....]  
 10 [.....] .. [.....]

[My] loved [mother]: (It is) I, your son, [who] writes to you; in the Lord, - greetings.

[Before] everything: I greet [my father] and all who are in the house [by (5) their] names. Next: I am ... you did not give [the] thing to me ... why ... (10) ...

*(remainder of the text not ordered and too fragmentary for useful translation)*

**Commentary:**

1 ΠΕ(Κ)ΩΗΡ[Ε]: The masc. form of the second person sing. must be in error and we have deleted it. Not only do we know from the address that the son is writing to his mother, but in l. 2 he correctly uses the fem. form (ΝΕ).

3 [ΩΑΘΗ]: Although this is the most common form used in the formula throughout the archive as a whole, one might note that **39**, 3 uses ΩΙΘΗ and **40**, 2 ΩΑΡΠ in its place.

5-6 Perhaps †Ρ Ω[ΠΗΡΕ | ΧΕ Π]ΩC: 'I am surprised at how (you did not ...)'.  
 7 Probably ΝΕΩ [ΝΩΕ.

### MANICHAEAN LETTERS

In CDT I there were a number of authors who expressed their Manichaean faith explicitly, such as Orion, Makarios and Matthaïos, Ouales; but their letters were (in good part) about other things, such as family and business matters. There were also letters where the faith or Manichaean ‘connection’ seemed to be paramount, and in these there was maintained a level of deliberate anonymity (notably **31** and see the introductory comments to that section). It is similar in this second volume (CDT II): There are again instances where the author’s faith is explicit, or can be supposed with reasonable surety, although it is not their primary concern (such as **71**, Pamour writing to Partheni); and there are letters that we can specifically term Manichaean (this present section, **61-63**). Still, the examples of both types in CDT II are fewer. One could speculate about the reasons: accidents of preservation; a need for greater circumspection; a prevalence of business purposes; possibly a diminution of faith in a younger generation (but this is very uncertain). For instance, we know that Philammon was closely linked to persons of clear Manichaean belief and practice (such as Apa Lysimachos and Ision), but in his three well-preserved letters published here (**80-82**) he says nothing that is really explicit. Nevertheless, commonalities of style and association make his faith virtually certain.

In this present section the prize letter is one written by The Teacher, by whom we understand the leader of the Manichaean community in Egypt. Whereas various unnamed references to ‘The Teacher’ amongst the Makarios family letters of volume I might be thought to indicate reverence, now it becomes apparent that anonymity is a deliberate feature. It is unknown whether this new letter is written by the same person referred to there, as it might well be from a different time-frame. However, the issue of deliberate anonymity in Manichaean literature would be worthy of a further study. For instance, it is notable that in the codex *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (n.b.) Mani is rarely named, usually being referred to by the circumlocutions ‘apostle’, ‘enlightener’, ‘master’, ‘father’. ‘Manichaios’ may not have been his personal birth-name, but rather a religious one that was given to him (‘hidden vessel’ is a recent suggestion for its etymology from

the Aramaic).<sup>8</sup> In the personal letters from Kellis we have examples of the author introducing himself simply as ‘your father’ (thus **31, 32**), a highly unusual practice and in each instance with a clear Manichaean context.<sup>9</sup>

The other two pieces in this section are very fragmentary, and ‘anonymity’ may simply be a result of preservation. They exhibit characteristic phrases of Manichaean sentiment, which should be compared with other examples of the genre. Some provisional discussion of Manichaean epistolary conventions can be found in I. Gardner, ‘A Letter from the Teacher: Some Comments on Letter-Writing and the Manichaean Community of IVth Century Egypt’, in L. Painchaud, P.-H. Poirier, *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica. Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, Québec 2006: 317-323.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 61**

**Inv #:** P 27B + P 8

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 2

**Preservation:** 10 fragments of a Coptic letter on papyrus, (2 ex P8). N.B. The placing of the fragments as recorded by the digital photograph is somewhat misleading. The sequence of lines in the transcript must be noted carefully.

**Content:** A Manichaean letter by ‘The Teacher’. Detailed discussion by I. Gardner, *op. cit.*, 2006.

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<sup>8</sup> On this question see J. Tubach, M. Zakeri, ‘Mani’s name’, in J. van Oort et al., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, Leiden 2001: 272-286. There is no general consensus about the matter.

<sup>9</sup> Probably also P. Kellis Gr. I 67; see the comments by I. Gardner in *ZPE* 159, 2007: 225.



**Address:**

verso

Πλουτ]ογενίωι καὶ Πεβο

To ... (?) Ploutogenios and Pebo

**Names:** Drousios; Pebo; Ploutogenios; ‘The Teacher’;**Text:**

- 1 Π[α]ρ μῆ̄ ν[σν]ῆγ̄ ετ̄νῆ̄μη̄[ῖ]
- 2 ω̄ᾱ μ̄πρ̄εσβ[γτ]ερος̄ τηροῡ ν[α]
- 3 ωη[ρ]ε̄ ν̄αμε[ρετ]ε̄ πλουτογεν[ιος]
- 4 μῆ̄ [π]εβο̄ μ[ῆ̄ ῆ̄]κακεγε̄ τηροῡ
- 5 \ . . . αῆ̄/κατ[α] νογρεν̄ ῆ̄] πχαῖς̄ χαιρειν̄
- 6 Ἰ̄νογ[αῖω̄ μεν̄ νιμ̄] λειογηγ̄ ε̄ει
- 7 ῆ̄[ν̄ λειειρε̄ ῆ̄π̄ρ̄π̄με]γε̄ ῆ̄τ̄μ̄ῆ̄τ̄ῆ̄ε̄λδ̄ητ̄
- 8 ῆ̄[τετ̄ῆ̄μ̄ῆ̄]τ̄ωηρε̄ μῆ̄ π̄τ̄ᾱχρο̄ ῆ̄
- 9 π[ετ̄ῆ̄νᾱρ̄]τε̄ λειωλη̄ ῆ̄ς̄ηγ̄ νιμ̄
- 10 ω[ᾱ ιη̄σογ̄]ς̄ πεχ̄ρ̄ς̄ χε̄ ε̄[ν]ᾱρ̄ᾱ[ρη̄]
- 11 αρ̄[ωτ̄ῆ̄] νη̄ῖ̄ ῆ̄ π̄ις̄†νογ̄ε̄ δ̄ρε[τ̄ῆ̄]
- 12 [ταῖ̄αῖ̄τ̄ ῆ̄]τ̄ῆ̄ογ̄αν̄ [νι]μ̄ [ῆ̄τ̄ωτ̄]ῆ̄ κα[τα]
- 13 [τετ̄ῆ̄]πολιτιᾱ ῆ̄[ . . . . . ]
- 14 [ . . . . ] ῆ̄αω̄ε̄ ῆ̄[τετ̄ῆ̄ . . . . . ]
- 15 [ . . . χε̄] νετ̄ῆ̄εῑ ᾱρ̄[ογ̄ν̄ . . . . . ]
- 16 [ . . . αν̄]η̄ρ̄ε̄ †ῆ̄[ . . . . . ]
- 17 [ . . . ]ε̄ω̄ς̄ πογ̄ε̄ π[ογ̄ε̄ . . . . . ]
- 18 [ . . . ]ε̄ ε̄ . [ . . . . . ]
- (likely to follow immediately)
- 19 τ̄ῆ̄†ν[ . . . . . ]
- 20 ρογ̄ω̄ᾱ[ . . . . . ]
- 21 χε̄ναω̄[ . . . . . μῆ̄]
- 22 πω̄ς̄ ῆ̄τ̄[ετ̄ῆ̄ . . . . . ]

23     ϣϩⲡⲓ[ . . . . . ]

24     . . . . . [ . . . . . ]

unplaced frg

(x +)25     . . . . . ]ϣⲛ[ . . . . .

26     . . . . . ]ϩⲡ[ . . . . .

tr27     ⲛⲛⲧⲁⲛ[ . . . . . ] ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ϩⲱ[ⲧⲧⲐⲛⲉ . . . . . ]

28     ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕ[ⲁⲕⲉϥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ ϩ]ⲓⲟϥϩⲁⲡⲓ ⲕⲟϥϣ[ . . . . . ]

29     ⲉⲧⲓⲁⲧⲛ[ . . . . . ] ⲁⲣⲟϥϩⲓⲟϥ †ϣⲓⲛ[ⲉ . . . . . ]

The Teacher, and the brothers who are with me: To all the presbyters, my children, my loved ones; Ploutogenios and Pebo and all the others (5) ... according to their names; in the Lord, - greetings.

[Now, every] time I am afar (it is) as if I am near. [I remember] the gentleness of your (pl.) sonship and the strength of your faith. I pray always (10) to Jesus Christ: That he will guard you for me with this fragrance; as you are [honoured] by everyone corresponding to [your] conduct ... go and ... (15) ... lest you ever come in ... I am ... each one ... (20) ...

(25) ... (tr) ... You yourselves ... and [all] the others together. ... Drousios. I greet ...

### Commentary:

1     The incipit ('The Teacher, and the brothers with me, to ...') contrasts markedly with the normal epistolary style of the period. It is clearly modeled on that of Mani in his *Epistles*; (which were canonical scriptures for this community).

3     The -ios ending to the name 'Ploutogenios' is here restored following the address, but one should note that standard lists do not record any other attestation of this (cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam>). Still, the phonetic value at this period would have been identical to that of the expected spelling 'Ploutogenes'.

5     \ . . . ⲁⲛⲓ: It does not seem possible to read ϩⲱϩϥ ⲁⲛ. Also, it is difficult to understand the significance of what appears to be a superlinear stroke stretching across from the final letter inserted in the margin to the initial κ- in the regular line. Perhaps it is some kind of correction mark.

11    Ⲙⲧⲛⲟϥϥⲉ 'fragrance': Presumably metaphorical or figurative for 'excellent conduct', see also CD 363a. One may consider a possible play on words with the phonetically similar Ⲙⲧⲛⲟϥϥⲉ 'good reputation', which occurs in comparable contexts elsewhere (i.e. with Manichaean authors). Thus **19**, 2,7; **31**, 20-21, where the full Ⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥϥ is found; P. Kellis I Gr. 63, 6-7, where εὐφημία can be paralleled; also e.g. *IKeph.* 259, 11 and 380, 13.

15-16    The most likely sense of this fragmentary clause seems to be: '... so that you never get into (some sort of trouble or bad habits)'. This may well have been preceded by an admonition in l. 14: '.. walk (i.e. 'behave') and ...'.

Verso    The position where the names of the recipients are written on the address suggests that the title (or otherwise) of the sender of the letter may not have been recorded. Alternatively, the normal sequence may have been reversed; as indeed is true in the highly stylised opening to the letter.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 62**

**Inv #:** P 4 + P7 + P7A

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 2

**Preservation:** 6 fragments of a Coptic letter on papyrus, plus a scrap. 4 of the main pieces can be joined so as to reconstruct a long thin strip down the upper rh edge of the page. Some complete lines can be restored corresponding to the well-known style of such pieces, and indicate the original width to have been not much greater than twice what is preserved.

**Content:** Strong religious sentiment, reminiscent in tone and terminology of other Manichaean letters from the archive.

**Address:**

verso

.....] X Προ[.....

To ... X Pro- ...

**Names: Pro-; Pshai;****Text:**

- 1 [πα ... ετταϊ]αῖτ  
 2 [..... ἡ]ρῆτ  
 3 [..... ]ε πα  
 4 [..... ] . τ  
 5 [..... χα]ρειν  
 6 [ῥαθῆ μεν ἡ]ωβ nim †ωι  
 7 [νε ἀπα ... ἀγ]ω †ωληλ δ  
 8 [πνογτε ἡ]τηε ῥα πκ[ογ]  
 9 [χεῖτε ἡ]σῆγ ni]μ σεκα[C]  
 10 [εσαῤαρηῖ ἡ]ραῖC ἀρα[κ]  
 11 [..... ἀτῆ]ογ]αψτνε [Mἡ]  
 12 [νενερηγ ῥἡ] ογειρη[NH]  
 13 [..... N]ενερηγ ῥἡ ἡα  
 14 [..... ] ῥἡ τῆεκκλ  
 15 [cia ..... x]ωκ ἀβαλ ἡπε  
 16 [τἡ ..... ] ψα θαν ἀπῆ  
 17 [..... νενε]ρηγ ῥἡ τῆ[...]  
 18 [..... ]τῆ[...]  
 19 [..... ]ῆ N[.....]  
 20 [..... ]εῖ[.....]  
 21 [..... ]ογ[.....]

tr22 ..... ] . M[ . ] ... πωαῖ π[.....]

1 unplaced frg. (with a section of the address on the verso)

x+1 . . . . . ] . [ . . .

2 . . . . . ]ϞΝ . [ . . .

3 . . . . . Ϟ]ΡΗΥ [ . . .

4 . . . . . ] . . . [ . . .

5 . . . . . ] . . [ . . . .

[My] honoured ... peaceful ... (5) – greetings.

[Now, before] everything: I greet [my] ... and I pray to [the God of truth] for your [health always]; so that (10) [he may guard (?) and] watch you [(until) we] greet [one another in] peace; ... one another in ... in his church, (15) ... perfect your ... until the end. ... one another, in his ... (20) ...

(tr) ... Pshai ...

### Commentary:

Address: After the central cross one usually finds the name of the sender or recipient (thus here ‘Pro-). However, one should note that there is no name of this sort in the extant Coptic archive from House 3.

2 ρ̄Ρ̄Κ̄Η̄Τ: This will be a quality (‘peaceful’ or ‘calm’) ascribed to the recipient by the author. Interestingly, this particular term is not found elsewhere in the archive from House 3, but it makes good sense as a Manichaean virtue (and can be added to the list made in CDT I pp. 80f.). Compare e.g. *1Keph.* 183, 29.

### P. Kellis Copt. 63

Inv #: P 14 + P 22 + P 51C + P 62

**Location:** House 3, room 7, deposit 1 (P14 + P 22); room 9, deposit 3, east wall (P51C); room 6, deposit 3 (P 62).

**Preservation:** Thirteen fragments of a coated papyrus text (perhaps more than one text, but all of the same distinctive appearance). Some fragments can be joined, for which see

the transcriptions (as the digital photograph does not indicate the correct placings). The suggested width of the text follows a minimal restoration in the first three lines. It is entirely possible (even probable) that additional terms were used in the opening greetings, and consequently that the lines were somewhat longer throughout.

The scrap recorded as containing ll. 33-35 seems to have been lost from the glass frame before the photograph was taken in January 2009.

**Content:** Manichaean letter (or letters?), with characteristic terminology.

**Address:** None preserved.

**Names:** None preserved.

**Text:**

(top centre frg)

- 1 [ΤΑΩΕΡΕ] ΜΗ[ΕΡΙΤ ΕΤ]
- 2 [ΔΙ ΝΤΟ]Τ ΤΟΝ[ΟΥ ΠΡΕΝ]
- 3 [ΕΤΖΑΛ]ϛ ρω[ἰ ΝΝΕΥ ΝΙΜ]
- 4 [ΤΑΩΕΡ]ϛ ΜΗ[ΕΡΙΤ . . . ]
- 5 [ . . . . . ] ΤΕ†ϙ[ΥΑΩϞ ρω]
- 6 [ΠΑΖΗ]Τ ΜΗ Π[ . . . . . ]
- 7 [ . . . . . ] . ἡ . . [ . . . . . ]
- 8 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ]

(5 frags. reconstructed down rh edge)

- (x+)9 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . ]
- 10 [ . . . . . ἡ] ΝΝΕΥ ΝΙΜ
- 11 [ . . . . . Ν] ΔΩ[Λ] ΗΛ Εἰ
- 12 [ . . . . . ] ΡΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ
- 13 [ΝΙΜ . . . . . ] . ἰ ΧΕ ΝΝΕῤ
- 14 [ . . . . . ] ΕΤΕ ΧΕ . .

- 15 [ . . . . . ] ἄ] ἄ ΠΣΩΝΑ  
 16 [ . . . . . ] ἄ' Τἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 17 [ . . . . . ] . ἄ ἄ Πἄ ἄ ἄ  
 18 [ . . . . . ] Τἄ' [[C]]ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 19 [ . . . . . ] . ἄ ἄ Πἄ ἄ ἄ  
 20 [ . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ Πἄ ἄ ἄ  
 21 [ Τἄ . . . . . ] Τἄ' ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 22 [ . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ Πἄ ἄ ἄ  
 23 [ . . . . . ] Τἄ' ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ [ . . . . . ]  
 24 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]

(2 frgs. joined down rh edge)

- (x+)25 [ . . . . . ] ἄ [ Τἄ ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 26 [ . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 27 [ . . . . . ἄ ἄ ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 28 [ . . . . . . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ

(frg. from rh edge)

- (x+)29 [ . . . . . ] . ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 30 [ . . . . . Πἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ Πἄ ἄ ἄ  
 31 [ ἄ ἄ ἄ . . . . . ] Τἄ' ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ Πἄ ἄ ἄ  
 32 [ . . . . . ] ἄ . [ . . . . . ]

(frg. from rh edge)

- (x+)33 [ . . . . . . . . . . Τἄ ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 34 [ . . . . . . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 35 [ . . . . . . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ

(unplaced frg.)

- (x+)36 [ . . . . . ] . ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 37 [ . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 38 [ . . . . . ] ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ  
 39 [ . . . . . ] . ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ

40 ]N 2Π[

41 ]Ϝ̄ N̄N[

42 ] . [

(unplaced frg., perhaps a different text)

(x+)43 2]OOY N̄T . [

44 ]T̄ĒT̄ȲXH̄ [

45 ]NϜ̄ N̄2Δ[

46 ] ϘĒ N̄N[

47 ] . Ē N̄CĒ . [

48 ] . [

(unplaced frg., perhaps a different text)

(x+)49 ] . . . . . [

50 T]ΔΩĒPĒ N̄[M̄ĒPIT

51 ] ΠΔΩHP̄Ē [

[My loved daughter who is] very [precious to me. The sweet name] in [my] mouth [at all times. My] loved [daughter] ... (5) ..., the one who I [love in my heart] and my ... (10) ... at all times ... my prayers, while I ... [all] good things ... lest you ...

(remainder of the text is too fragmentary for useful translation)

### Commentary:

1-3 Although mostly destroyed, the introductory greetings can be restored with fair certainty according to familiar patterns, e.g. compare **16**, 4; **17**, 1-3.

15-16 Probably a reference to the theme of being ‘far’ apart in the body, yet ‘near’ in spirit (OYHY / 2HN); variations of this are characteristic of the Manichaean letters, e.g. **19**, 69-70; **31**, 24-25; **61**, 6-7; **85**, 3-4.

20 ΠENΔ2[T̄E: ‘your (fem.) faith’, note the female recipient as with other Manichaean letters of similar type (cf. **31**, 27 [‘faith’ paired with ‘knowledge’ as here also at ll. 30f.]; **32**, 3).

27 Δλ]Δ̄N̄B̄Δλ: see **65**, 14 and the note to **71**, 4-9. The sense here is presumably to protect or guard from ‘all mishap’.



### LETTERS BY PAMOUR (AND MARIA)

Pamour is the author of a series of letters, to which a certain Maria (who was surely his wife) often adds a postscript. One must read together with these P. Kellis I Gr. 71, (copied below for ease of reference), which clearly belongs to this same group. Further, Pamour (Pamouris) generally addresses his letters to various brothers, particularly Pshai (Psais) and Pegosh (Pekysis); but including also others such as Theognostos and Andreas, who may or may not be direct siblings. Persons named Partheni, Kapiton, Philammon and Hor also feature prominently. Thus, this present group of letters is followed by a number written by Pegosh, the brother of Pamour, (with which P. Kellis I Gr. 72 must be included). One can then expand out to other groups, such as the three letters written by Philammon to Theognostos and Hor, which will lead to two letters written by Lysimachos (one to Theognostos and one to Hor), to another two written by Theognostos himself; and so on.

This far, the connections between the persons are certain. As one expands further it becomes more problematic. The latter part of CDT II contains many 'unplaced' documents by persons such as Psais to Partheni or Psais to Andreas. Many of these will belong to the core Pamour group with which we have started; but, given that there are certainly multiple persons with names like Psais (especially common), it becomes increasingly difficult to be sure that one is always dealing with the same characters. There is also the further problems of multiple or abbreviated names. Whilst it is clear that Theognostos is also called Louishai (as will be seen); is Heni (or Eni) the same as Partheni, or Iena (or Gena) the same as Ploutogenes?<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The phenomenon of 'truncated' names is a feature also evident in the Greek ostraca from Ain es-Sabil; see the discussion in O. Trim. I (*Ostraka from Trimithis*, ed. R.S. Bagnall, G.R. Ruffini, New York 2012), p. 60.

However, despite these issues, we may say that the Pamour and related groups take us to the heart of events recorded by the House 3 Coptic archive, which must be dated in the main (perhaps even in its entirety) to the decades from the 350s to the 380s C.E. Many of the Greek documents from this period also belong to these same persons and their histories. In terms of the family stemma reconstructed by K.A. Worp in *P. Kellis I* (p. 51) we are dealing with Pamour 'III', son of Psais 'II' (who will be the 'father Pshai' of many of these Coptic letters) and of Tapollos (who almost certainly appears in the Coptic documents as 'mother Lo'<sup>11</sup>).

One major question, that naturally will arise for the reader, is how does this family and their correspondents relate to the Makarios family and their circle that dominated much of CDT I? In the first volume the most fully-drawn characters were the couple Makarios and Maria, and their sons Matthaïos and Piene; whilst in the second it is Pamour and Maria, with their various brothers and sisters.

If we attempt to relate the two core couples, we must first consider whether Makarios could be the same as Pamour? But there is no evidence to support this. Makarios writes from the Nile valley to his wife Maria in Kellis, and that group of letters (including those of their sons Matthaïos and Piene) would appear to have been saved by and thus to have 'belonged to' Maria. In contrast, Pamour's wife Maria is with him in the valley, from where they both write letters to Pshai and Pegosh and so on in Kellis. They never mention any persons called Matthaïos and Piene. In fact, there is clear evidence of there being two Marias. In *P. Kellis I* Gr. 71 Pamour addresses directly a 'mother Maria', and then his wife Maria adds her own greetings to the letter.

In sum, our interpretation is that the Makarios family correspondence dates from the later 350s C.E. (the evidence for this is discussed in some detail in CDT I). Probably it was preserved for some years by his wife Maria who lived as an elderly relative in House 3. In contrast, the core Pamour documents belong to a younger generation. Perhaps they

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<sup>11</sup> See also *P. Kellis I* Gr. 87 for an instance of this in the Greek papyri.

were mainly written ten or fifteen years later, and thus never mention Makarios or Matthaïos; but the old woman was still alive in the house. Finally, as regards the religious affiliation of these persons: Manichaean faith is vitally alive and a central concern for Makarios and his sons; in contrast, whilst there is still evidence for it in the Pamour documents, it is rarely so overt. Whether this is a result of increased circumspection, or a diminishing of faith, we simply can not say.

Translation of P. Kellis I Gr. 71 (by K.A. Worp):

To his most honoured and truly most longed-for lord brother Psais, Pamouris sends greetings in God. First of all I and my wife and sons each individually send many greetings to your reverence, being well up until now through the providence of God. Greet for us our lord brother Theognostos and his son Andreas. About your coming to (?) us, most honoured one, every day we ... from long ago since you wrote. And, I swear by God, it was on your account that I remained here, not departing for Antinoopolis to transact pressing business with my brother Pekysis. But look, he summoned me there many times and since I was expecting you, I did not leave. Indeed I wrote this very thing to him too that "I am expecting my brother and his children here". So don't neglect to come. Please bring with you a small hatchet and a bronze oven dish. Please greet each by name for me. I am amazed that, while so many have come to us, you have not deemed us worthy of even a letter for such a long time; but I myself, too, had decided not to write, and yet I was unable to endure, particularly since Philammon is here. Or don't you know that we are thirsting for your letters? Greet Kapiton for me and Psais, the son of Tryphanes, with their wives and children. Give many greetings for me to mother Maria and the little Tsempnouthes. Please send the girl to me. I am giving you her travel money and each year I will give you a present of wool for a cloak as her hire. Farewell, my lord.

Please get ten loom weights from Kame and give them to Psais, the son of Tryphanes. I wonder, mother Maria, why you have not written to me: "I received the hanging (?) from Psais". Accept this other one from Philammon and a little pot of fish.

Mother Maria, please send me the dish and the iron ring because I want to put it on the loom. I Maria greet my lady mother and sister along with her children. My children also greet you. Farewell.

**P. Kellis Copt. 64****Inv #:** P 9**Location:** House 3, room 1, deposit 1

**Preservation:** Reused papyrus, with traces of earlier text clearly visible on both sides (e.g. read πωλι at v5). There now remains the lower two-thirds of a letter, broken along both the vertical and horizontal folds (thus six-ninths remain with the upper three folds missing). The dimensions of the remains are 168 x 125 mm.; but the original can be calculated at ca. 240 mm. vertical.

**Content:** Pamour writes to his brother Pshai (Psais), according to the address. Probably he also addressed other persons in the introductory greetings, (such as Theognostos?). Unfortunately, these are lost; but compare e.g. 72 and P. Kellis I Gr. 71. His wife Maria adds a fairly extensive postscript, which should be closely compared to others that she appends to Pamour's letters (65, 66, 71 and P. Kellis I Gr. 71); as well as Pamour and Maria's greetings added to Pekysis' letter to Kapiton sent from Aphrodite (77). We think that in this present letter also (and generally so in this group of documents) Pamour and Maria are in the Nile valley.

The principal purpose of these closely related series of letters is to maintain contact between various members of the extended family. One supposes that Pamour is writing to the Oasis, and indeed there are occasional references to it (e.g. 65, 37) and comments that one can interpret as being about travel from the one place to the other. Extensive greetings are sent or relayed, and insofar as there is real 'content' it is mainly concerned with various possessions and goods that are needed or missing. Often there are complaints that such and such has not been sent, and these (which appear rather terse to the modern reader) are interspersed with family news and other remarks about health or other difficulties.

**Address:**

verso

ἀδελ]φῶι X Ψαῖσι Παμοῦρ  
ὁ ἀδελφός σου

To [my master] brother X Psais. Your brother Pamour.

**Names:** Chares; Jnapllo (Senapollo); Lo; Marie; Pamour; Parthene; Philammon; Pshai;  
Tagoshe;

**Text:**

*approximately twelve lines missing*

x+1 ΚΑΤΑ . [ . . . . . ] ΕΤΥ . [ . . ] . Ε ΕΤΑ!  
2 ΖΩΒ Π[Ι]ΩΤ` ΠΩΔΙ ΕΤΒΗ[Τ]Ὺ ΤῪΝΝΑΥΥ  
3 ΟΥΝ ΝΗῪ ΝΠΩΡΤΕ ΖΛΑΜ[Λ]ΕΜ ΩΩΠΕ  
4 ΜῪ ΝΕΡΗΥ` ΝΜΑΝ ΔΙΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΖΝΑΥ  
5 Ε ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ ΔΤΕΤῪΤΕῪΤΟΥ ΔΒΑΛ` ΕΖΕ ΔΕ  
6 ΝΜΑΝ ΤῪΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΕῪ ΕΝ` ΩΠΕ Ν  
7 ΜΑΝ ΝΤΑΥ ΝΤΑ ΠΑΙΩΤ ΩΑΝΕΤ ΧΕ ΝΙΧΙ  
8 ΛΑΥΕ ΖΑΡΑΥ ΖΙΕ ΤῪΟΥΗΤΕ [Δ]ΡΑΥ` ΕΝΩ!  
9 ΝΕ ΜῪΕΤΕ ΝΣΑ ΠΕΤΕΠΩΝ` ΤΚΕΛΕ  
10 ΚΜΕ ΔΝ ΝΖΝΟ ΝΖΑΜΤ` ΕΤΑΤΕΤῪΤῪ  
11 ΝΑΥΣ ΝΗῪ ΕΙΣΖΗΤΕ` ΝΝ[Ι]ΜΑ` ΠΕΤΕ  
12 ΤῪΟΥΩΥΤΕΣ ΝΕΥ ΤῪ[Ν]ΑΥ ΝΗῪ ΤΑ  
13 ΤΕΣ ΝΕΥ` ΩΠΕ ΛΥΩΑΝΕΤ` ΝΑΜΗΕ  
14 ΝΕΤΕΤῪΗΠ ΖΩΤ` ΔΝ ΝΤΑΜΑΙ ΕΤΕΤῪΤῪ Ν  
15 ΜΑΥ` ΤῪΟΥ ΝΤΩΤῪ ΠΕΤΣΑΥΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ  
16 ΤΚΑ . [ . ] . . . . . ΠΕΤΕΤῪ . . . Ε Σ`ΟΥ  
17 ΔΝ ΝΜ ΖΙΨΩΣ ΤῪΝΝΑΥΣ ΝΗῪ ΤΑΤῪ  
18 ΝΑΥ ΣΟΥΝΤῪ ΝΗΤῪ ΔΝ` ΤΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΡ  
19 ΘΕΝΕ ΜῪ ΝΕΣΩΗΡΕ` ΔΝ[Δ]Κ ΜΑΡΙΕ  
20 ΠΕΤΣΖΕῪ ΕΨΙΝΕ ΔΤΕΣῪΟ ΝΜΕΡΙΤ`  
21 ΜῪ ΤΣΩΕΡΕ` ΜῪ ΤΑΨΩΝΕ ΜῪ ΝΕΣ

- 22 ωηρε μην ταδωφε η[η] τ̄ωφερε  
 23 μην λο μην τ̄ωφερε· ηη ταμο χαρηс  
 24 μην νεσωηρε κατα πουρεν·  
 25 μαλιστα πασαν παχαис [π]ψαι· ητακ  
 26 δε πασαν· ψαι μην ταμο ειс ογχα·  
 27 δε λογε λιμαζ̄ε χεϊνατες ηπαιωτ·  
 28 φιλαμμων αν̄τ̄ε ηητη ητο ρωε  
 29 ταμο τη̄ναγ ογψαω η[η]η ημαν απωι сωρ/μελ  
 tr30 [ . . . . . ] λδε πασαν ψαι ηπωρω εμπεκει αβαλ τη̄νο αρακ·  
 31 [ . . . . . ] . η ψωνε αν· εωωπε ογν δαμ ετετη̄τη̄ναγ †ρογ<ι> ηηι  
 32 [ . . . . . ] λ τη̄ναγс μην παιωτ φιλαμμων χε αν† χ̄ηαπ̄λο ηογρε·

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10 ε̄τατετη̄τη̄νη̄: final -T- ex -N- corr. 23 τ̄ωφερε: -C- ex corr. 27 λογε: λ- smudged or erased? μαζ̄ε: -ρ- ex corr. 29 ογψαω: -λ- smudged

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... ] about which I have sent father Pshai. Send it to me, therefore; do not let any complication occur among us. For sure, I sought after the items (5) they say that you (pl.) have sold. Very well then, we are not seeking these ones. If, indeed, my father did exclude me so that I would receive nothing from him, then we renounce them; we are only seeking for what is ours.

Also, the other (10) piece of copper vessel that you sent me is here. Whoever you want to give it to: Send me (instructions) and I will give it to them.

If he really has excluded me, - you were supposed to inform me too if you are selling them.

(15) Now, you are the one who knows about the ... the one that you ... each one on it. Send it to me and I also will send its price to you. I greet Parthene and her children.

I, Marie, (20) am the one who writes, who greets her beloved mother and her daughter; and my sister and her children, and Tagoshe and her daughter, and Lo and her daughter, and my mother Chares and her children according to name. (25) Especially my brother, my master Pshai. So, you, my brother Pshai, and my mother: See (i.e. 'Here is') a cloth bag for one (of you). I filled it so that I could give it to my father Philammon to bring to you. You, too, my mother: Send a (measuring) jar to me, for mine is lost. (tr30) ...

cloth bag. My brother Pshai, do not delay your coming (so that) we may see you. ... I am also sick. If it is possible, can you send this little (girl) to me? ... send her with father Philammon, for we have given Jnapollo to a husband.

### Commentary:

Address: There probably was room for the usual [(τῶι) κυρίῳι μου ἀδελ]φῶι vel sim. The form of the name Ψαῖῶι is an uncertain reading; obviously one expects Ψάϊτι, but it cannot be that. However, see the address to 72 and the note ad loc. with further references.

2 This ‘father’ Pshai will be a different person to the one named on the address of the letter (i.e. the author’s brother). Here, as elsewhere in these pieces, he may well be the Psais ‘II’ of K.A. Worp’s reconstructed stemma in P. Kellis I (p. 51). Note also that Pamour uses two different verbs in sequence (ῶϞΒ and ΤΗΝΔΥ), though both are translated here as ‘send’. Probably the first means ‘send a message’, whilst the second indicates to send (i.e. ‘transport’) the thing itself.

5-6 εῶε ϛε ἡΜΔΝ: ‘So, yes indeed’ or ‘very well then’. This phrasing, apparently hitherto unattested and a striking feature of some letter-writers’ diction, is found four times in this corpus: 105, 46 and 108, 26 (with Δῶε); 64, 5-6 and 92, 15-16 (with εῶε). The closest literary parallel to this phraseology may be found in Nag Hammadi Codex I,2 (*Epistle of James*), where the expression ϛε ἡΜΔΝ is regularly used to translate an introductory: ‘Amen/Verily (I say unto you ...)’ (NHC I 10:1,15; 13:8; 14:14). Combining another word for ‘yes’ with the truth reinforcer, this parallel confirms that the element ἡΜΔΝ in our phraseology is the assertive particle ‘verily, indeed’ (and not the negative particle or an alternative ‘else’). With the additional ϛε in it, the phrase seems to be a textual marker that brings a foregoing discussion of an open issue to a conclusion and at the same time emphasises the veracity of what follows. In this instance it marks the transition from stating the reported sale of the items to an emphatic renouncement of any further pursuit of the matter. One may also compare the similar cluster ἡΜΔΝ ΔΝ ἡΜΔΝ at 48, 30 (which probably does not mean ‘or else’).

9-10 We do not know what this 'piece' (CD 139a ΛΕΚΜΕ) of copper vessel might be. One should note Crum's following entry of ΛΟΚΜ, given as 'meaning unknown' from a list with other utensils; perhaps we are rather dealing with some specific item here.

13-15 ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲓⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧⲧ̅ ... ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲓⲧ̅ ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲓⲱⲧ̅: Pamour's thoughts have now returned to his earlier frustration with his father. The exclusion may well have been to do with the distribution of property, such as happens with a will. The obvious sense to expect would be that Pamour had counted on them to tell him at the time when they sold (or perhaps 'distributed' or 'administered') the items; see l. 5.

15-17 Unfortunately, the text is much destroyed along the central fold at l. 16. But it is probable that Pamour's meaning is something like: 'You are the one who knows the price of everything. Whatever you think, add each one to the bill. Send it to me, and I will return you the total cost'.

23 The name Lo is quite frequently found in these letters. It seems probable that it is another example of an abbreviated name, which appears to have been a rather common practice especially in the Coptic letters of this archive. We think that her full name may be Tapollos (this follows a suggestion of Worp in P. Kellis I p. 54). The latter name is never found in the Coptic archive, but was that of Pamour (III)'s mother according to the Greek information (see the reconstructed stemma in P. Kellis I p. 51). It is notable that in her greetings Maria begins with a number of the senior women, i.e. her own mother (Maria), Tagoshe (= Takysis), Lo (= Tapollos) and Chares (χαρησ, fem., for 'Charis'). We think that this gives some sense of the true generational context. See also P. Kellis I Gr. 87, 3 and notes ad loc.

30-31 Maria asks her brother Pshai not to delay his coming, and to send the little girl (presumably as a housemaid and general assistant). Both these elements feature in Pamour and Maria's letter in Greek (P. Kellis I Gr. 71), and we strongly suspect that they are the same events and that the two letters were written at about the same time. In this case the girl is Tsempnouthes (Coptic Jemnoute), see further **65**, 39-41 note ad loc.



**P. Kellis Copt. 65**

**Inv #:** P 45 + P 21 + P 36 + P 43 + P47 + P 56C

**Location:** House 3, room 5, deposits 1 + 3 + 4 and room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.

**Preservation:** Ten papyrus fragments, which can be joined or placed so as to recover extensive remains of a letter written in Coptic. The lower half is mostly complete, but a large central section of the upper half is missing. Perhaps about five lines are entirely lost between the remains of the upper and lower parts.

**Content:** The concerns, style and persons mentioned in the letter are consistent with the other pieces written by Pamour to his brothers. The introductory prayer (ll. 7-15) has formulaic elements that should be counted as Manichaeic (on which see I. Gardner, A. Nobbs, M. Choat, 'P. Harr. 107: Is this Another Greek Manichaeic Letter?', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 131, 2000: 118-124). This example may, in particular, be compared to that written by Pamour to Partheni in 71. The actual 'content' of the letter again concerns details of various items and small-scale transactions that can be difficult to follow. The reference to the Oasis in l. 37 indicates that these letters passed between scattered and traveling family members, some of whom were there (presumably based in Kellis) and others in the Nile valley. Pamour's wife Maria adds her usual postscript, greeting her mother and other women in the family as well as the men.

**Address:**

verso

ἀπ(όδοϛ) το[

Deliver to [ ...

**Names:** Andreas; Ham; Jemnoute; Kapitou; Lamon; Lioushai (?) Theognos(tos); Lo; Maria; Pamour; Pegosh; Philammon; Pshai; Tapshai;



37 [Ο]ΥΑΖΕΨ ΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑCΑΝ ΚΑΠΙΤΟΥ ΤΟ  
 38 ΗΕ Μ᾿ ΝΕCΨΗΡΕ Μ᾿ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ  
 39 [Α]ΝΑΚ ΜΑΡΙΑ †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΤΑΜΕΥ ΤΑ  
 40 ΧΑΙC ΤΟΝΕ Μ᾿ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ ΧΕΨ᾿ΝΟΥ  
 41 [Τ]Ε †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑCΑΝ ΠΕCΨΩ  
 42 [ΤΟΝΕ] ΤΑCΩΝΕ Μ᾿ [ΝΕC]ΨΗΡΕ  
 43 ΨΙΝΕ ΑΛΟ Μ᾿ ΤΕCΨΕΡΕ Ψ[Ι]ΝΕ  
 44 ΑΤΑΨΩΔΙ Μ᾿ ΝΕCΨΗΡΕ vac  
 45 ΨΙΝΕ ΔΑΠΑΪΩΤ ΦΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ Μ᾿ [ΤΕ]C  
 46 [ΖΙΜΕ] Μ᾿ ΝΕCΨΗΡΕ ΠΟΥΕ ΠΟΥΕ  
 47 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕCΡΕΝ †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΛΑΜΩΝ  
 48 Μ᾿ ΤΑΜΟ ΤΑΨΩΔΙ: ΕΨΡΩCΘΑΙ  
 49 CΑΙ ΕΨΧΟΜΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΪC  
 50 ΧΡΟΝΟΙC vac  
 tr51 ᾿ΝΤΑΚ ΖΩΚ ΠΕC[Ω]Ψ ΕΨΨΠΕ ΕΚΜ[ . . . . . ] . . . [ . ] ΕΨΝΗΥ ΑΒΑΛ [ . . . . . . . . . .  
 52 vac . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . ΝΚΟΥΪ vac  
 53 vac . . . . . [ . . . ] CΝΤΕ ᾿[ . ] . . . [ . . . . .

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1 ΜΕΡΙΤ for ᾿ΜΕΡΙΤ 6 Ζ᾿: looks more like Ζ᾿ 32 ΤΙΜΗ: for ΤΤΙΜΗ 34 ΖΟΟΥΕ: second -  
 O- ex -Υ- corr. 40 ΤΟΝΕ: -Ε ex -Ο corr. 42 [ΤΟΝΕ]: perhaps [ΤΟΝΕ <Μ᾿>] or [ . . Μ᾿] etc.  
 48 ΤΑΜΟ: looks more like ΤΜΩ

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My master, my loved brother, very precious to me; Pegosh and Pshai, and my brother Lioushai (?)  
 Theognos, and my other brother Andreas. I, (5) Pamour, [am the one who writes. I greet] you (pl.) in the  
 [Lord; - greetings].

Before [everything: ... I] pray to the Father, [the God of truth], that you will live [for a long] time; (10)  
 being [healthy in the body], rejoicing [in the spirit], healthy in the [soul, safe] from the snares of the devil  
 and the adversities of Satan.

(15) ... please send to me ... them ... (20) ... iron ring ... (25) You have written to us about the things ...  
 ten hundred ... If there is any sesame from Ham ..., send [it].

I greet [my] father Pshai warmly and his children. I greet all those who are with you (sing.), (30) each one by name. Why did he send Kapitou to you about the price of the jujubes? You did not write to us saying how much to sell them for! Now, someone has come to me lately (lit. these days) saying: “We shall not sell them”. (35) I opened them to find out whether they had perished. Now, write (about) these, saying (whether to) sell them in the Oasis. Greet my brother Kapitou warmly, with his children and his wife.

I, Maria, I greet my mother, my (40) lady, warmly; with my daughter Jemnoute. I greet my brother Pegosh [warmly, (and?)] my sister and [her] children. Greet Lo and her daughter. Greet Tapshai and her children. (45) Greet <my> father Philammon and his [wife] and his children, each one by his name. I greet Lamon and my mother Tapshai. I pray for your health for many (50) years.

(tr) You, too, Pegosh: If you ... you are coming ...

### **Commentary:**

Address: This clearly starts with the letters  $\lambda\pi$ , the latter perhaps with a line struck through it. We have resolved this as an abbreviation  $\acute{\alpha}\pi(\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma)$ ; see the index s.v.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$  for other examples of similar forms in this archive. One might expect (e.g.) a supralinear delta next to the pi, but amongst the addresses to these Coptic letters there is simply found  $\lambda\pi$ / (or similar).

3 The exact spelling of the name Lioushai ( $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\lambda\iota$ ) is very difficult to read, but we are convinced that it was this or some form close to it. It is followed immediately by Theognos, which is probably complete in itself (i.e. with no letters missing). One needs to compare **81**, where Theognostos is given on the address but Louishai ( $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\omega\lambda\iota$ ) is clearly written at l. 2; and **82**, where Loishai ( $\lambda\omega\iota\omega\lambda\iota$ ) is read on the address, but Shai is found in l. 3. From these three letters we conclude that the one person, who is often named Theognostos by Pamour and his circle, could also be called Louishai (we may have variant spellings) or simply Shai. See also perhaps **95**, 18.

7-15 Pamour’s prayer can be reconstructed in most of its details by comparison with the parallels: **25**, 12-26; **29**, 7-13; **32**, 19-24; **71**, 4-9; **72**, 4-5; P. Harr. 107, 4-12; (also noting **31**, 12-16 and elements in **62** and **63**). The core elements are: prayer to the God of truth; the trichotomy of body, soul and spirit associated with qualities of health, joy and gladness; to be kept safe from Satan and all the evils of the world; and hope for life eternal. Although there are some variations in detail, and the prayer can be abbreviated

or amplified, there are enough formulaic qualities to use it as a marker of Manichaean faith. Indeed, we suppose that such was intended by the authors. Certainly, the trichotomy can be traced back to IThess. 5:23, and variations occur in other papyrus letters of the period; but the combination of elements so characteristic of these Kellis pieces (and notable in P. Harr. 107) is likely to have been in imitation of Mani himself. Evidence for this assertion can be drawn now from the remains of one of his *Epistles* preserved in Middle Persian: cf. ‘Second fragment (M501p + M 882c + M1402 + M9152)’ l. 4, as reconstructed by W. Sundermann, ‘A Manichaean Collection of Letters and a List of Mani’s Letters in Middle Persian’, in *New Light on Manichaeism*, ed. J.D. BeDuhn, Leiden 2009: 259-277 (pp. 271-273). Sundermann’s translation of the opening of the letter reads (slightly adapted): ‘... to the most beloved ... at ease and healthy you remain ... so that with the aid of the angels you, most beloved, [in spirit (?)] are well, and as for the body content and happy’. Thus, e.g., Matthais to Maria at **25**, 12-22: ‘This is my prayer to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved Son the Christ, and his Holy Spirit and his light angels: That he will watch over you together, you being healthy in your body, joyful in heart and rejoicing in soul and spirit, all the time we will pass in the body’.

23-24 In P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 50-51 there is also a request for an iron ring (κρίκιον), which is something to do with a loom.

27     ϷΑΜ ΝΩΑ . : More probably a personal name (Ham) than some quality of the sesame; e.g. derived from the word for a craftsman (CD 673b-674a) or an abbreviated form of Sheham (cf **73**, 20 note ad loc.). It may be followed either by a patronym or toponym.

31, 37 Kapitou: It seems probable that this is the same person as Kapiton, a commonly occurring character in these letters. See further the note at **66**, 42.

34-37 There may be an implied reproach here (l. 34), i.e. this person exclaims that they can not sell the jujubes in that condition. Consequently, Pamour opened up a sample to see if they were spoilt. Following this, it may be questioned whether he then does indeed intend to sell products that are rotten. An alternative translation and interpretation may be considered: ‘I opened them to find that they were rotten. Now, write to these (people), saying: “Sell them (in the future) in the Oasis”’.

39-41 Maria begins her postscript by greeting ‘my mother ... and my daughter Jemnoute’, as she also does in **71**, 26-27. In **64**, 19-21 it was her mother and her daughter (unnamed); and see also **77**, 35-36 for the same. In **66**, 21-23 she begins with her sister and daughter (unnamed), and one wonders if the mother has now died. It is worth paying close attention to these parallels. Although, in general, the usage of terms such as ‘mother’ or ‘sister’ in these letters is so broad as to be of little use for establishing exact family relations, in these instances Maria is so consistent that we think that the data will be reliable. But if the daughter is Jemnoute, what is Maria’s mother called? She never actually names her. Here P. Kellis I Gr. 71 is vital evidence. Again Maria adds her customary postscript (ll. 52-53) greeting her mother, and in this instance her sister (both unnamed). However, earlier in the letter (ll. 41-43) Pamour has sent his greetings to ‘mother Maria and the little Tsempnouthes’, the latter being the Greek form of the name Jemnoute (variously Jnpnoute et al). We are therefore fairly certain that Pamour’s wife Maria, when she greets her mother in her postscripts, is greeting the elder Maria. One should note also occurrences of the same name in the Makarios family letters.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 66**

**Inv #:** P 59A + P59B/C

**Location:** House 3, room 3, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** A mostly complete letter, if somewhat poorly preserved in places and now disintegrating into a number of fragments. There are clear traces of previous text. The placing of some fragments as recorded by the photograph is misleading, and the order in the transcription should be followed instead. The text is coarsely written, and the scribe has made a number of errors. The original dimensions were 280 x 60 mm.

**Content:** Pamour writes to his brother Pegosh, with a lengthy postscript (more than half the letter) by Maria. A possible context for this piece (see the notes further for details of this reconstruction) is that Pegosh is in Aphrodite, and Pamour and Maria have written to

him there from elsewhere in the Nile valley where they are doubtless engaged in trade. In this case, the letter has been transferred to Kellis at a later date, together with other documents belonging to members of this Oasis family who apparently resided in Aphrodite in the 360s - 380s C.E.

**Address:**

verso

τῷ κυρίῳ μου	X	ἐγὼ Παμοῦρ
ἀδελφῷ Πεκύσι		[ὁ ἀδελφ]ός σου
To my master brother Pekysis.	X	I, Pamour, your brother.

**Names:** Chares; Io; Maria; Pamour; Pebo; Pegosh; Philamou; Pshai; Pshmnoute;

**Text:**

1 [ΠΑC]ΑΝ ἡΜΕΡ[Ι]Τ` ΕΤ[ΔΙ]  
 2 [ΔΙΤ] ἡΤΟΤ` ΤΟΝΟΥ ΠΑCΑΝ  
 3 [ΠΕC]ΩΦ ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕΚCΑΝ  
 4 [ΠΑ]ΜΟΥΡ ΕΪΨΙΝΕ [Δ]ΡΑΚ  
 5 [ῶ] ΠΙΧΑΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 6 vac χΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 7 [ΠΤ]ΑΡΙΔΙΝΕ ΠΤΕΥΧΗ Δ  
 8 [ΒΑΛ] ῶΤῆ ΠΑCΑΝ [Π]ΕΒΟ  
 9 Δ[Ι]ΨΑΤΠῆ ΕΪCῶΕΪ ΝΕ[Κ]  
 10 Ν . . ΔC Π[Ε]ΒΟ Cῶ . [ . ]ΥΕ!  
 11 ΨΙΝΕ Η[Η] ΤΟΝΟΥ[Υ] ΔΤΕΚ  
 12 ῶΜΕ Μῆ [Ν]ΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΚΑ  
 13 ΤΑ ΠΟΥΡ[ΕΝ] ΔΚῶΒ ΟΥ  
 14 . [ . ]ΜΕ Η[Π] ΟΥΛΕΨΕ Π  
 15 ΧΗCΕ ἡ[Π]ΡΩΜΕ ῶΗ  
 16 ΤΕ ΨΕΙΡ[Ε] ΠΠΕ[Υ]ΚΩ  
 17 ΤΕ ΨΙΝΕ [ΝΗ] ΔΠ[Δ]Ψ<Τ>  
 18 ΠΩΔΙ Η[Π] . . . . ] .

- 19 ḥḥε[ριτ . . . ] . . .  
 20 τḥḥναγ τ[ . . . ] . . . [νε]κ  
 21 ανακ м[α]ρια τωι  
 22 νε ατϵϙ[ω]ηϵ ḥḥεριτ  
 23 μη ταω[ε]ρε χι πι  
 24 σαγ νε [ḥ]δαλη ḥḥη  
 25 ρε ḥτοτ[ϙ ḥπ]εβο νετα  
 26 τεογ αγ[ . . . ]γ νεἰ νετ  
 27 εηηγ αβαλ ḥπε  
 28 τḥḥναγ ογεπιϙτολη  
 29 ετḥωινε αραἰ ḥαωη  
 30 ρε ωινε αρο τονογ ωι  
 31 νε ηηἰ ατασωνε  
 32 ηḥ πἰωτ ḥνεσωη  
 33 ρε ḥαπḥḥἰ τηρογ  
 34 ωινε <α>ρωτνε ωινε  
 35 απαἰωτ πωαἰ ηḥ  
 36 νεϙωηρε <ανακ> ἰο τωι  
 37 νε αρωτνε ηḥ τϙ  
 38 ωερε <ε>ψατετḥνεγ  
 39 απασαν ωινε αραϙ  
 40 ωηϙ ḥτεμογḥ  
 41 αβαλ ḥνογḥα[δ]  
 tr42 vac [α]ḥακ μαρια εἰωινε απαἰωτ φιλαμογ ηḥ τϙριμε ηḥ νεϙωηρε  
 v43 ωινε ηη<ἰ> απαἰωτ πωηνογτε μη τϙρι[με]  
 44 μη νεϙωη<ρε> χι νεκ ḥτσαωβε ḥωατϙ ḥτḥτ  
 45 ḥτοτϙ ḥπεβο χι τϙḥτε ḥωατϙ εγπαρϙ  
 46 ḥτοτϙ ḥβο ḥτετḥτεγ ḥχα[ρϙε]

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39 τϙ|ωερε: understand τετḥ- 46 perhaps ḥ<πε>βο, or else 'Bo' is just a shortened form

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(To) [my] loved brother, very [honoured] by me; my brother Pegosh. I am your brother Pamour (and) I greet you (5) [in the] Lord God; - greetings.

When I found the prayer from my brother Pebo, I hastened to write to [you] (10) ... Pebo (?) ... Greet for me warmly your wife and your children by their names. You have sent a ... and a small amount of (15) dye for the man. Look, I am working around it. Greet [for me] my father Pshai and [my] loved ... (20) send the ... to you.

I, Maria, I greet my loved sister (?) and my daughter. Take for yourself these six sticks of dye (?) (25) from Pebo. The ones that you gave have ...; these are the ones coming out (now). You did not send a letter greeting me! My children (30) greet you warmly. Greet for me my sister and the father and her children. Everyone in our house greets you. Greet (35) my father Pshai and his children. <I (?)>, Io, I greet you and <your> daughter. If you should see my brother, greet him. (40) Live and stay (well) for a long (time).

(tr) I, Maria, I am greeting my father Philamou and his wife and his children. (v) Greet for me my father Pshmnoute and his wife and his children. Take for yourself these seven portions of fish (45) from Pebo. Take these two separate portions from Bo and give them to Chares.

### Commentary:

7-10 Perhaps what is meant is that Pamour has received a heartfelt ‘prayer’ for news sent from Pegosh via Pebo. Now he hurries to reply, and this letter will be conveyed back again by Pebo (see the poorly preserved l. 10). Alternatively, it may be that Pamour has an actual copy of a prayer that he wants to send. Compare the example of the ritual text copied and sent in **35** (especially noting there Ouales’ comments in ll. 28ff.).

This Pebo may be the same person as the Aurelius Pebos son of Tithoes, who is from Kellis but residing in Aphrodite, where he signs contracts on behalf of Pamour and Pekysis (P. Kellis I Gr. 42-44). See further the comm. ad ll. 21-23.

14 . [ . ]ME: There is hardly enough room to read ΛΕΚΜΕ ‘fragment’.

16-17 ‘I am working around it’, i.e. ‘I am taking care of it’.

21-23 If our reading of l. 22 is correct, this is the only occasion where Maria does not start by greeting her mother. It seems probable that either the mother Maria has died by this stage, or else that this particular letter is not sent to Kellis. We know from other letters that Pegosh is at least some of the time in the Nile valley. P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 16-18, explicitly places him in Antinoopolis. And then, in **77**, Pamour and Maria add their

greetings to a letter by Pegosh sent to Kapiton from Aphrodite. N.B. A number of the documents found in Kellis refer to the village of Aphrodite (in the Antaiopolite nome), and especially important are the dated Greek contracts published by K.A. Worp in P. Kellis I (30, 32, 42, 43, 44, from the 360s - 380s C.E.). These should certainly be read in conjunction with the letters by Pamour, Pegosh and their circle.

23-24 It is tempting to read: ‘Receive this knowledge .. (ⲭⲓ ⲡⲓϮⲁⲮⲛⲈ)”; but compare the syntax at ll. 44 and 45.

24-25 Alternatively, ⲭⲕⲟⲈ ‘cloth bag’ could be a better reading than ⲭⲏⲟⲈ ‘dye’, (compare e.g. Maria at **64**, 26-27); but, in that case, one may want to read ⲙⲎ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲭⲕⲟⲈ (‘Receive these six ... and the cloth bag’). It does not seem possible to read ‘6 *mna* of dye’; but one might consider ⲉⲁⲕⲙⲁ ‘jar’ instead of ⲉⲁⲕⲙ ‘stick’ (with the final -ⲁ squeezed in very small).

26 ⲧⲈⲐⲮ ⲁⲮ[ ... ]Ⲯ: or ⲧⲈⲐⲮⲁⲮ [ ... ]Ⲯ (‘The ones that you) uttered ...’).

41 There appears to be no space for the expected ⲡⲐⲐⲐⲁⲓⲱ following ⲡⲏⲏⲐⲐⲁⲓⲱ[ⲉ].

42 The form Philamou is surely for Philammon. One can compare Kapitou in **65**, who we believe to be the same Kapiton as commonly occurs in this group of letters. See also Lamou in **19** (Lammon?), and Amou in **19** and **45** (Ammon?).

43 Perhaps this is the same Pshemnoute (and his wife Kyria) who are prominent in the Makarios family letters, see CDT I pp. 29, 42; but in that case the letter must be sent to Kellis.

44 A number of these letters refer to the sending of portions of fish, which must certainly have been salted or pickled or dried in some manner for preservation. Cf. the short note by A. Alcock, ‘Pickling’, *Discussions in Egyptology*, 57, 2003.

46 Chares (i.e. Charis) may be the wife of Philammon (Philamou?); see CDT I pp. 23, 38-39.

**P. Kellis Copt. 67****Inv #:** P 60D**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** A substantial Coptic letter; but, although the dimensions of the papyrus are mostly preserved, the text itself is badly abraded. The hand and general design is very similar to **68** (also from Pamour), and perhaps **76** (from Pagosh, but the brothers could have used the same scribe). The original dimensions were 280 x 106mm. It is now broken across the central fold, and disintegrating along the verticals.

**Content:** Pamour writes to Pagosh, greeting also Theognostos and Pshai. Probably Maria has added her customary long postscript, though we can not read her name in the extant text.

**Address:**

verso

ἀπ(όδος) Πακύσι X Παμοῦρ

Deliver to Pakysis. X (From) Pamour.

**Names:** Chares; Pagosh / Pakysis; Pamour; Philas; Plousiane (?); Pshai; Shai (?); Tagoshe; Tapshai; Theognos; -ou (Philamou?);

**Text:**

- 1 ἀνακ παμοῦρ π[ε]τ[ε]ρ[ε] [εἶ]
- 2 ψινε απασαν π[α]ρ[ω]ψ τ[ο]νοῦ
- 3 vac χαιρειν vac
- 4 ραθη ν[ε]ρωβ ν[ι]μ τ[ε]τ[ω]β[ε]ρ[ε] απ[ι]νοῦ
- 5 τε χε[ρ]ι[α]ρα[ι]c α[ρ]ω[τ]η[ν] ν[ο]γ[η]
- 6 ναδ ν[ο]γα[ι]ω τ[ω]ν[ε] απ[α]c[α]ν
- 7 θε[ο]γ[ν]οc μ[η] πα[α]ν[η] π[ω]αι τ[ε]

- 8     ⲁⲗⲓⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ̅ ⲧ[ⲐⲚ]ⲟϥ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲟϥ[ . . ]  
9     ⲱ . γ . . . . ⲛ̅ⲙ . ⲁ . ⲁ . [ . . ]ⲣⲓ . ⲕ [ . . . . ]  
10    . . ⲛ̅ . . . . . ⲁⲱⲙⲣⲉ . [ . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . ]  
11    . . ⲃⲏⲱ . ⲗ . . . . ⲗⲏ[ . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . ]  
12    ⲛ̅ⲥⲟϥⲭ . . [ . . ] . . ⲛⲁ[ . . ] . . . . . ⲱ .  
13    [ . . ⲉ]ⲡ[Ⲓⲥ]ⲧⲟⲗⲁϥⲉ . . [ . . ] . . . . .  
14    . . . . . ⲉ ⲧⲛ̅ⲥⲁ[ . . ] . . . . .  
15    . . . . . ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲓⲙ[ⲉ . ] . . . . .  
16    ⲱ ⲁγ . . ⲁⲗⲱⲃ ⲧⲱ[ . . ] . ⲉ . . . . ϥ ⲁ  
17    ⲡⲁϥⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲃⲱⲱ [ⲙ]ⲛ̅ ⲧⲗⲓⲙⲉ  
18    ⲙ[ⲛ̅] ⲛⲉϥⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲧⲣⲙⲁⲓⲗⲉ ⲭ[ⲉ]  
19    [ⲙⲡ]ⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲉⲓⲃⲁⲗ . ⲁⲛ[ . ]ⲗⲁⲧⲧ [ . . ]  
20    . . . [ . . . ] ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲭ[ⲉ . . . . ]  
21    . . . . .  
22    [ . . . . . ] . . ⲭⲁⲣ[ⲏⲥ] . . . . . ⲛ̅ . ⲡ̅ .  
23    [ . . . . . ⲕ]ⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲑⲉ ⲉ[ . . ] . . . . .  
24    [ . . ]ⲥⲛ[ . . ] . . [ . . ]ⲧⲕⲟϥ . . . . . ⲗⲟ . . . .  
25    . . ⲁⲓ . [ . . ]ⲟϥ ⲧⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁ . . . . .  
26    [ . . ]ⲁⲓⲭ . [ . . ] . . γ ⲧⲣⲙⲁⲓⲗⲉ ⲭⲉ . . . .  
27    [ . . ]ⲃⲁⲗ . [ . . ] . . ϥⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲉⲓ . . γ  
28    ⲫⲓⲗⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲕ[ⲉ] ⲡⲁ  
29    ⲃⲱⲱ . . . ⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲗⲟϥ[ⲥⲓⲁ]ⲛⲉ  
30    ⲟϥⲡⲉⲧ[ . . ] . . ⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲛ̅ . . . . .  
31    ⲁⲛⲓϥ ⲧ . . . . ⲗ ⲃⲛ̅ⲣ̅ . ⲛ̅ . . . . .  
32    ⲃⲁγ . . [ . . ]ⲟϥⲱⲱ ⲟϥ . . . . . ⲕⲏ . . . . .  
33    . ⲛⲏ . . . . ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟϥⲉ . . . . .  
34    . . . ⲱⲧ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ[ⲥⲁⲛ] ⲱⲁ[ⲓ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅] ⲧⲁ  
35    [ⲡ]ⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲙⲣⲉ . . . . . ⲧⲛ̅  
36    [ . . . . . ]ⲧⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ . . . . . ⲉ  
37    . . . . . [ . . ] . . ⲧⲛⲟϥ ϥ[ⲉ] . . . . .  
38    . . . [ . . ] . . ⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧϥ[ⲗⲓⲙ]ⲉ . . . . .  
39    . . ⲛ̅ . . [ⲱ]ⲛⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . ] . . ⲧ[ . . ]

40    ω[ΕΡΕ †]ΩΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΨΑΝ . . . . .  
 41    [ . . . . ] . 21 . . . . Η . [ . ] . . . . [ . . ] ΗΝ  
 42    [ . . . Η]ΑΠΗΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ [ . . . . . ]  
 43    [ vac?    ΩΝ]2 ΟΥΧΕΙ  
 tr44    ΠΩ . . . . Ψ[ . . ] . ΔΑΙΠ . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . ΠΨ2ΩΒ ΕΤ . . . . [ . . ] . [ . ] . . . [ . . . . ] . [ . . ] . . . . [ . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] ΣΕΡΩΕΥ ΣΟΥ . . .  
 45    . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 v46    . [ . . . . ΠΑ]ΣΑΝ ΠΑΔΩΩ ΙΣ Π†ΩΠ ΜΠ . . . .  
 47    [ . . ] . ΤΗΝΑΥΣΕ ΜΗ[Ρ]ΩΜΕ ΝΤΟΤ . . . .  
 48    . [ . . . . ] . . . . [ . ]ΩΕ ΔΩΕ . . . .  
 49    [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . ]ΚΕΤΝΕΔ . . . .  
 50    ΑΗΔ[Κ . . . ] . . . . †Ω[Ι]ΝΕ ΔΡΩΤΗ ΤΗΡΤΗΕ  
 51    . . . . .  
 52    . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 53    . . . . . [Ω]ΛΗΛ 2Δ . . . . ΤΚ . . . . .  
 54    . . . . .  
 55    . . . . .  
 56    . . . . . Ε . . . . †ΩΙΝΕ  
 57    . . . . . ΝΟΥΣΝΗΥ  
 58    . . . . . ΔΝΙΤ . ΗΕ†ΡΧΡΙΑ  
 59    ΝΕΤ . . [ . . . . . ΠΑ]  
 60    2ΩΒ 2ΩΤ ΔΝ vac ΕΤΕΤΗΝΟΥΔΩ Σ2ΕΙ ΝΗΙ

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23 ΤΘΕ sic, for Τ2Ε

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I, Pamour, am the [one who writes], greeting my brother Pagosh warmly; - greetings.

Before everything: I pray to God (5) that he will guard you (pl.) for a long time. I greet my brother Theognos and my brother Pshai. I beg you greatly: Do ... (10) ... my son ... letters ... (15) I am weeping ... send. I ... to my brother Pagosh and his wife and his children. I am astonished that you have not come out ... (20) ... You (sg.) told me that ... Chares ... just as ... (25) ... I greet ... I am astonished that ... Philas from you. You and also (?) Pagosh ... You, Plousiane (?), (30) ... you ... Bring it, ... wish ... greet Tagoshe ... greets my father Shai (?) and (35) Tapshai and their children. ...

So, now, ... [I greet] -ou and his wife ... children and ... and her (40) daughter (?). I greet my brother ... and ... All in our house [greet you]. Live and be well.

(tr) ... (45) ... they are well ... (v) ... [my] brother Pagosh: Here is the account for the ... send them with a man from ... (50) ... I, ..., I greet you all ... [I am (?)] praying for your ... (55) ... I greet ... their brothers ... I am in need ... (60) also my own thing. Please will you (pl.) write to me.

### **Commentary:**

Address: Although one cannot be sure (due to the poor preservation), the wording may well have been as simple as this (i.e. with nothing missing). The style of the address on **76** is very much the same.

1 To start the letter simply with  $\Delta\text{N}\Delta\text{K}$  is not so remarkable, but it is certainly less common in this archive than starting with the name and relationship of the recipient ( $\text{Π}\Delta\text{C}\Delta\text{N}$ ,  $\text{T}\Delta\text{M}\text{O}$ , etc.). Again, one may compare **76**, 1.

3 Note how  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\text{N}$  is positioned by itself in the centre of the line. It is characteristic of a number of these letters, compare e.g. **76**, 5.

7 For the abbreviated form of the name Theognos (i.e. without an ending -tos) see also **65**, 3; **73**, 20.

17  $\text{Τ}\rho\iota\eta\epsilon$ : The reading is very uncertain. One would expect  $\text{Τ}\rho\iota\mu\epsilon$ ; but since the form  $\rho\iota\mu\epsilon$  (without initial sigma) is a relational term anyway, it might also have been used without the possessive.

28 Perhaps Philas could be a hypocoristic form for Philammon? In the archive we have ample evidence for shortening the name to the final element (e.g. Partheni > Heni; Tapollos > Lo). For the name 'Philammon' one is tempted to look to Lammon / Lamou, but apparently this practice might also work from the start of the name (cf. Theognostos > Theognos at l. 7 in this very letter).

29  $\text{Π}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\zeta\text{[}\Delta\text{]}\eta\epsilon$ : This reading is very uncertain.

30 The ink traces are very ambiguous. Perhaps  $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{Π}\epsilon\text{Τ[}\omega\text{]}\omega\epsilon\ \text{Π}\epsilon$  ('What is fitting is for you to ...') or  $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{Π}\epsilon\text{Τ[}\Delta\text{]}\eta\eta\text{Τ}\ \text{Π}\epsilon$  ('It is a good thing that you ...').

33ff. One might suppose that about here Maria ( $\Delta\text{N}\Delta\text{K}\ \text{M}\alpha\text{R}\iota\alpha$ ) adds her own greetings, as in many of the letters by Pamour.

38 -ΟΥ (and his wife): Perhaps Philamou, compare 66, 42.

**P. Kellis Copt. 68**

**Inv #:** P 61CC

**Location:** House 3, room 8, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** Coptic letter on papyrus. The basic dimensions of the piece are apparent (280 x 82mm.), but the text itself is badly abraded. The hand and general design is very similar to 67 (by Pamour) and perhaps also 76 (by Pagosh).

**Content:** There is little coherent sense to be made from the poorly preserved text. Since neither the address nor the initial greetings can be read, the author and recipient are uncertain. But the similarity of design to 67, and especially of the uncial script, suggests that the letter was probably sent by Pamour. Perhaps Maria also added her customary postscript to her husband's letter, (note the greetings to various women in the lower part of the main text).

**Address:**

verso

traces α X ἀπ(όδοϛ) Π . . . . .

... X Deliver to P-

**Names:** Gouria (or Goure?); Martha; Pagosh; Tapshai;

**Text:**

1 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . [ . . ]

2 [ . . . . . ] Ν [ . . . . . ] Ν [ . . ]

3 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . ]

4 [ . . ] . [ . . . ] Τ Ν Ε { . . . . . }

- 5 vac χαλ[ρ]εῖν vac  
 6 ραθ[η] ἡρῶβ ἡ[ιμ †]  
 7 ωιν[ε] ἀρα[κ] ρ[ι]α[κ]ᾶν [ . . . ]  
 8 †ω[ι]νε λα[π]α[κ]ᾶν [π]αχαῖ[κ]  
 9 ΤΟΝ[ΟΥ] †ΡΗ[α]ῖζε σε [ . . ]  
 10 ρα . η . ἄγ . ε ἀκρηε [ . ]  
 11 ρα . . [ . ]τ ῥῆ οὐαε ἡ[ . . ]  
 12 πε[ . . . ]π vac †[ωινε]  
 13 αταμ . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . ] . ε  
 14 [ . ]δε ρα . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 15 [τ]ῆναγ . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 16 [ . . ]ωινε . [ . . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ]  
 17 [ . . ] . ω . . [ . . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ]  
 18 [ . . . ]χα . λα [ . . . ]αῖ[ . . ] . [ . . . ]  
 19 [ . . . . ]μο . [ . . ] . ρ[ . . ] . [ . . ] . [ . . ]  
 20 [ . . ]ῆρε . . [ . . . . . . . . ]  
 21 [ . . ] . ἡῆν[ . . . ] . . . . [ . . ]  
 22 [ . . ]ϥωνε ἡαρθα ἡῆ  
 23 [ . . ]μο νε . . . . μο [ . . ]  
 24 παδωω . [ . ] . . ϥω[ . . ]  
 25 [ . ] . . η . . . . . ε . [ . . ]  
 26 τ[ . . ] . . . . η[ . . ] . . . [ . . ]  
 27 νε . ωηρε . . . τη . . [ . . ]  
 28 τα[π]ωαῖ ἡῆν . [ . . . . . ]  
 29 ωε ατῆμ[ο] ταπωα[ῖ] τ[ο]  
 30 νογ ἡῆ [τημο] δογ[ρια ἡῆ]  
 31 νεσωηρε ἄννα[ . . ]  
 32 τῆρ . . . [ . . ] τηρνε ἄν ἡ  
 33 τῆμαρ[ . . ] . [ . . ]ρ[ . . ]τῆ ἀβαλ  
 34 ριταρ[ . . ] ἡ . . . . φα  
 35 . ητα . . . ἱπε . [ . ]ε[ . . ]η  
 36 . ετῆραγπη ετβε . . [ . . ]



- 37 . . . ΩΙΝΕ ΑΤΗΣΩΝΕ [Μ̄Ν]
- 38 Γ̄ῙΝ̄CΑΝ ΖΕ Μ̄ΠΕ[ . . ]
- 39 vac ΝΕΝ ΖΕ ΝΤΕCΙ . . [ . . ]
- 40 vac Μ̄ΙΔ . [ . . . ]
- 41 . . . [ . ] . [ . . . . . ]
- v42 traces
- 43 traces
- 44 traces
- 45 traces
- 46 . [ . . ] ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΩΔΤC . . [ . . . ] vac ϙ . . .
- 47 . [ . . ] . Π ΑΤΗ . . . . . ϙ ΑΠCΖΛΛ[Ο]

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11 the letter before ζ̄ν̄ looks like a large Γ; but we suppose that one should read -Τ 38-40 lh margin bends inwards (and thus nothing precedes Γ̄ῙΝ̄CΑΝ?) 40 perhaps there is nothing after the lacuna?

---

(I, Pamour, am the one who writes?) ... ; (5) - greetings.

Before everything: [I] greet you, my brother ... I greet my brother, my master, warmly. I am astonished that (10) ... to Egypt ... in the Oasis ... I [greet] my mother ... (15) send ... greet ... (20) ... sister Martha and ... Pagosh ... (25) ... children ... Tapshai ... our mother Tapshai (30) very much, and [our mother] Gouria [and] her children. ... and we are all ... and ... (35) ... we are grieving about ... greet our sister and our brother, for ... (40) ... (v) ... (45) ... ten portions ... to her old man.

### **Commentary:**

Address: All that can really be read is what appears to be a final -α (before what we think must be the central cross). Otherwise, only traces survive, and any readings are very uncertain.

30 Gouria: ϟΟΥ[ΡΙΑ or ϟΟΥ[ΡΕ? Cf. 'Kyria' at P. Kellis V p. 29; also **82**, 27, and the comment in the introduction to that piece.

**P. Kellis Copt. 69****Inv #:** P 78Hi (ex P78H)**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3.**Preservation:** The document is complete in one rectangular piece of papyrus: 143 x 99 mm.**Content:** The text is best described as something like an affidavit. It is not a letter, being without the typical epistolary formulae, greetings, address etc. At the same time, it lacks features that one would expect in a legal document, such as witnesses, signatures or date. Perhaps it is a private agreement or a draft?

The subject of the document would seem to be the ownership of property, either inherited by two brothers from their father or otherwise provided by him. Pamour would seem to be in actual possession of the property, perhaps to be used as start-up capital for trade in the Nile valley; but the purpose of the document is to confirm that it actually belongs to his brother Pagosh. The exact details of the agreement are somewhat difficult to follow; but it certainly reminds one of Pamour's comments in **64**, where he states that he renounces any claim to items from which he has been excluded by his father.

**Address:** No address, verso blank.**Names:** Pagosh; Pamour;**Text:**

- 1      ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲡⲁ
- 2      ⲉⲱⲱ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲛ ⲉⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲁ
- 3      ⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲉⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕⲁ ⲁⲕⲛⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ
- 4      ⲁⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲓ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲕ

5        ΧΕ ΖΗΟ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΨΟΠ` ΝΕΝ` ΕΥΟΥ  
 6        ΤΩΝ ΗΝ Ν[Ε]ΝΕΡΗΥ ΖΑ ΠΝΙΩΤ`  
 7        ΕΙΤΕ ΝΖΝΟ ΝΖΑΜΤ` ΕΙΤΕ ΠΕΤΗ  
 8        ΤΕΝ ΤΗΡΪ· ΚΘ ΝΠΪΧΑΙϸ· ΕΙΤΗ  
 9        ΤΗΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΖΝΑΥΕ ΝΕΚ` ΟΥΒΕ ΤΝΕΑ  
 10        ΕΤΑΙΤΕϸ Δ . . . Κ ΤΕΥ ΜΠΟΥΧΑΙϸ  
 11        ΕΤΑΚΕΙ ΖΟΥΗ ΟΥΤΩΪ ΕΤΒΗΤΟΥ

And I, Pamour, am writing to Pagosh, my brother. Since many items are attributed (?) to me, I have gone to Egypt. He (i.e. Pshai?) entered into an agreement with me. Now, therefore, I am writing to you (5) that every item we have, between us mutually on account of our father, whether of bronze or all that is ours, you are its owner. If I do not send these items to you, (held) against the servant girl (10) whom I gave to you, (then you are still entitled to?) pay them to (as?) their owner, concerning which you have entered in to an agreement with me.

### Commentary:

1        The use of the enclitic particle ΔΕ at the very start of this document strikes us as odd. Perhaps it implies that what we have is a response to some other (lost) text.

2        ‘Since’: The conjunction ΕΠΙΔΗ may simply be functioning to introduce the content part of the letter, but its being initial here is probably a coincidence. The clause is better understood as to provide the reason for the author’s travel to the Nile valley.

2-3     ΖΗΑΟΥ: These ‘items’ seem to be what the document is really about, see also ll. 5, 7 and 9 (pl.). The term is frustratingly vague; but note that it is also used in **64**, 4-5, a text that may well provide some background to this present document. They appear to be material possessions, perhaps ‘vessels’ of some kind. We presume the sense here is that it is because Pamour has a substantial number of such items that he has gone to Egypt, no doubt to engage in trade. However, if one was to take the term in an abstract sense as ‘debts’ (on which see **72**, 20 and the note ad loc.), the entire meaning of this piece would change: ‘Because I have many debts, I went to Egypt ...’ etc.

3-4     ΔΥΕΙ ΔΖΟΥΗ ΟΥΤΩΪ: The subject of this clause appears to be unstated. We think that it must be a reference to a third person whose identity would be obvious to the persons concerned. The most obvious candidate would be Pamour and Pagosh’s brother

Pshai, who would presumably have had a share in any matter to do with the distribution of the family's material possessions. Further, there must be some technical usage here of the verb εἰ ('come') plus ἀποῦν ('in') with οὐτω// ('between'). The literal translation of 'he came in between me' makes no sense. In fact, the Ancient Egyptian *r-jwd* (from which οὐτε- / οὐτω// is derived) can have the sense of obligation. Thus, *ntj r-jwd.j* 'which is incumbent upon / with me'. We propose a meaning such as 'he entered into (an agreement) with me', i.e. a business arrangement or finance deal. This would be similar to the colloquial English of 'he came in with me'. Note also the same in l. 11; indeed, οὐτω// is used three times in this short document.

5-6 εϞΟΥΤΩΝ ΗΝ Η[Ε]ΝΕΡΗΥ: 'between us mutually' (i.e. the three of us); or, less likely, 'between us and our comrades'.

9 ΗΕΑ: This must be for the Greek νεάνις, presumably here meaning a 'servant girl'.

10 It is difficult to read ἀϞϞκ. Indeed, the letters look as if they may have been deliberately erased. Still, syntax and sense require something of this sort.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 70**

**Inv #:** P 78J + P 59E/F + P 67

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3; room 3, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** Twelve fragments survive of a large, finely written, letter on papyrus. It has broken along the horizontal and vertical folds, and some significant pieces have not been found (see the photograph). Nevertheless, what remains can either be joined or securely arranged to recover substantial sections of the text; (only 1 small fragment has not been placed). The dimensions and line count are not absolutely certain; but it was approximately 280 x 110 mm., with probably no complete lines missing between ll. 12 / 13 or 28 / 29.

**Content:** The letter is written to Pshai, but the identity of the author can not be known for certain. We think it is Pamour, primarily due to various of the persons mentioned in the letter, noting such as Theognostos, Kapiton, Partheni and especially ‘mother Maria’ in l. 14 (see our comments at the start of this group of letters). But the author might also be his brother Pagosh. From l. 3 and the address it seems certain that the name begins with a π-. Another point to consider is that Lo is named as sister in ll. 43-44, whereas elsewhere (see 64, 23 note ad loc.) we have suggested that this is an abbreviated form of the name of the brothers’ mother Tapollos. Still, it is not certain who actually is making the greeting at ll. 43ff. Despite these issues, we think that this letter must belong to this general group of documents. The very fine script is of particular interest, when compared to the rather coarse production of many of the other pieces. This confident and rather beautiful writing has similarities to that in 29 (sent by Piene).

**Address:**

verso

] . . . . . Ψαῖφι

Παμ[οῦρ]

(To) ... Psais. (From) Pamour (?).

**Names:** Chares; Kapiton; Lo; Maria; Pamour (or Pagosh?); Partheni; Patuse; Pshai; Theognostos; Titoue; -alous;

**Text:**

- 1 ΠΑCΑΝ Η[ΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΤΑΪ ΗΤΟΤ Τ]ΟΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΝ
- 2 ΕΤΖΑΛC [ΖΗ ΡΩΪ ΗΗΟ ΝΙΜ ΠΑ]ΧΑΪC ΠΩΔΪ
- 3 ΑΝΔΚ Π[ΑΜΟΥΡ ΠΕΤCΖΕΪ] ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
- 4 ΖΑΘ[Η ΗΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΩΙΝΕ] ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟΝΟΥ
- 5 ΜΗ [ . . . . . ΠΑ]CΑΝ ΘΕΟΓΝΩCΤΟC
- 6 ΜΗ Π[ . . . . . ΝΕΤΗΠ]ΙΜΔ ΩΙΝΕ
- 7 ΑΡΩ[ΤΗ . . . . . ] ΗΗ ΝΕCΚΕΚΟΥΪ
- 8 ΗΩΗ[ΡΕ . . . . . ]CΗΗΥ ΕΙΤΕ
- 9 ΖΑΥΤ [ΕΙΤΕ CΖΙΜΕ ΗΗ ΤΑCΩΝ]Ε ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ

10     $\text{m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ n}\epsilon\text{[}\sigma\omega\text{h}\rho\epsilon \text{ k}\alpha\tau\alpha \text{ p}\omicron\gamma\text{]}\rho\epsilon\text{n } \text{f}\omega\text{i}\eta\epsilon$   
 11     $\alpha\text{p}\alpha\sigma\alpha\text{[n} \dots \text{m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ t}\rho\text{[}\rho\text{]}\mu\epsilon \text{m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ n}\epsilon\text{q}$   
 12     $\omega\text{h}\rho\text{[}\omega\text{[t} \dots \dots \omega\text{]}\eta\epsilon \alpha\text{p}\alpha$   
 13     $[\dots] \rho\text{[}\mu\epsilon\text{ [} \dots \dots \text{] } \dots$   
 14     $[\dots] \alpha\text{t}\alpha\text{m}\alpha \text{ m}\alpha\rho\text{[}\iota\alpha\text{] m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ [}\rho\text{]}\omega\text{t } \bar{\text{n}}\rho\alpha$   
 15     $[\dots \text{c]}\alpha\text{n } \text{p}\alpha\text{t}\gamma\text{c}\epsilon \text{m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ p}\alpha\text{c}\alpha\text{n } \text{k}\alpha\text{p}\text{i}\tau\omega\text{n}$   
 16     $[\text{f}\bar{\rho}\omega\text{p}\eta\text{]}\rho\epsilon \text{x}\epsilon \text{p}\omega\text{c } \alpha\text{i}\rho\omega\text{n } \alpha\text{t}\omicron\text{t}\tau\eta\eta\text{[}\epsilon\text{]$   
 17     $[\alpha\text{t}\bar{\text{n}}\eta]\alpha\gamma \text{o}\gamma\kappa\text{[o}\gamma\text{c] } \bar{\text{n}}\eta\eta\text{z } \eta\eta\text{i } \text{x}\epsilon \text{p}\eta\eta\text{[}\rho\text{]$   
 18     $[\dots] \text{f}\tau\alpha\text{m}\rho\epsilon \text{t}\omicron\text{n}\omicron\gamma \bar{\text{n}}\eta\text{i}\mu\alpha \bar{\text{m}}\rho\epsilon$   
 19     $[\text{t}\bar{\text{n}}\rho\text{i}\text{c}\epsilon \bar{\text{n}}]\eta\omega\text{t}\bar{\text{n}} \text{[}\alpha\text{]t}\bar{\text{n}}\eta\alpha\gamma \eta\eta\text{i}$   
 20     $[\dots] \text{[.]} \epsilon\text{i}\eta\eta\text{x}^{\text{c}} \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda \epsilon\text{t}\beta\epsilon \text{p[}\epsilon\text{i]}$   
 21     $[\dots] \bar{\text{n}}\eta\eta\text{z}^{\text{c}} \text{p}\lambda\eta\eta \epsilon\omega\omega\text{p}\epsilon \text{t}\epsilon\text{t}\bar{\text{n}}$   
 22     $[\dots] \text{t}\bar{\text{n}}\eta\alpha\gamma\text{c} \text{m}\alpha\rho\epsilon \text{p}\omicron\gamma\epsilon \text{p}\omicron\gamma\epsilon \dots$   
 23     $[\dots] \bar{\rho}\text{p}\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \bar{\eta}\text{t}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{t}\text{c}\alpha\text{n } \text{t}\epsilon\text{p} \dots$   
 24     $[\dots] \text{f}\eta\alpha\text{[t}\bar{\text{n}}]\eta\alpha\gamma\text{c} \eta\eta\text{t}\bar{\text{n}} \bar{\text{n}}\rho\epsilon\text{[}\lambda\omicron\text{c}$   
 25     $[\dots] \alpha\omega\bar{\text{c}} \text{[}\alpha\gamma\text{]}\omega \text{f}\rho\omega\text{p}\eta\text{]}\rho\epsilon \text{x}\epsilon \text{p}\omega\text{c}$   
 26     $[\bar{\text{m}}\rho\epsilon \dots] \dots [\dots] \rho\lambda\omega\text{c } \bar{\eta}\text{t}\bar{\text{n}} \chi\alpha\rho\eta\text{c}$   
 27     $[\dots \dots \dots] \dots \delta\omega \text{[.]} \text{z}\alpha \text{o}\gamma\eta\rho$   
 28     $[\dots \dots \dots] \text{[.]} \epsilon\text{[}\dots \text{]$   
 29     $\alpha\text{p}\eta\omicron\gamma\beta \text{o}\gamma\text{t}\epsilon \text{[} \dots \dots \dots \text{]}$   
 30     $\chi\text{i } \text{f}\chi\lambda\delta\epsilon \eta\eta\text{t}\eta \text{[}\dots \text{]}\dots [\dots] \dots \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\text{[c]}$   
 31     $\epsilon\omega\omega\text{[}\rho\text{]}\epsilon \text{d}\epsilon \alpha\text{z}\alpha[\dots] \epsilon\text{p}\omicron\gamma \text{f } \eta\lambda\epsilon\text{f}\epsilon \bar{\eta}\text{z}\eta\eta\epsilon$   
 32     $\eta\eta\text{t}\bar{\text{n}} \text{[}\bar{\text{n}}\text{i]}\epsilon \text{m}\alpha\chi\epsilon [\dots] \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\text{c } \text{x}\epsilon\text{c}\alpha\text{t}\epsilon\text{c}$   
 33     $\text{c}\text{z}\epsilon\text{i } \eta\eta\text{[i } \text{f}\omega\text{i}\eta\text{[}\epsilon \alpha\text{p]}\alpha\chi\alpha\text{i}\text{c } \text{p}\alpha\text{i}\omega\text{t } \text{p}\omega\alpha\text{i}$   
 34     $\text{m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ n}\epsilon\text{c[}\omega\text{h}\rho\epsilon \text{t}\eta\text{r}\omicron\gamma \text{k]}\alpha\text{t}\alpha \text{p}\omicron\gamma\text{]}\rho\epsilon\text{n } \text{f}\bar{\rho}\lambda\gamma\text{p}\eta$   
 35     $\dots [\dots \dots] \bar{\eta}\text{x } \epsilon\text{z}\omicron\gamma\omega\epsilon\text{t}\kappa \bar{\text{m}}\rho\text{i}\text{z}\omicron\gamma\omicron$   
 36     $[\dots] \dots [\dots \dots] \rho\text{[}\mu\epsilon \alpha\rho\alpha\kappa \text{x}\epsilon \bar{\text{m}}\rho\text{v}\omega\kappa$   
 37     $\alpha[\dots] \text{[} \dots \dots \text{] } \alpha\text{i } \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \text{k}\alpha\text{n } \alpha\kappa\text{c}\omega\delta$   
 38     $\text{x}[\dots \dots \dots \text{] } \epsilon\text{t}\beta\epsilon\text{[} \text{p}\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon \text{d}\epsilon \bar{\text{m}}\rho\lambda\epsilon\text{f}\epsilon$   
 39     $\text{n[} \dots \dots \dots \text{] } \alpha\text{]}\lambda\lambda\alpha \bar{\text{n}}\text{t}\alpha\gamma\text{t}\epsilon\text{c } \eta\eta\text{i}$   
 40     $\text{x[} \dots \dots \dots \text{] } \kappa\delta\eta \alpha\rho\text{i}\kappa\epsilon \alpha\rho\alpha\text{i } \rho\text{[}\mu\epsilon$   
 41     $\alpha\eta[\dots \dots \dots] \text{[.]} \bar{\text{m}}\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\text{p}\bar{\text{i}} \alpha\text{c}\text{i}\text{t}\text{c}$

42     Ⲱ[ . . . . . ] Ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲗⲟ

tr43   ⲉⲣⲱⲁ ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲓ ⲁⲕⲓⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲗ . [ . . . . . ] . ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ  
Ⲛⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ

44     ⲗⲟ ⲧⲣⲱⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲉ Ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲉ! [ . . . . . ] ⲧⲟⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ ⲣⲱ ⲟⲗⲱⲥ  
ⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲡ

45     ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ [ . . . . . ] ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ

plus one small frg. unplaced.

(To) my [loved] brother, [who is] very [precious to me]; the name that is sweet [in my mouth all the time; my] master Pshai. (It is) I, [Pamour (or Pagosh?) who writes]; - greetings.

Before [everything: I greet] you warmly (5) and ... my brother Theognostos and ... (All) [those] here greet you (pl.) ... and also her small children ... siblings, whether male [or female; and my sister] Partheni (10) and [her children (all) by] name. I greet my brother ... [and his] wife and his half-brothers ... greet my ... wife ... my mother Maria and the father of (15) ... brother Patuse and my brother Kapiton.

[I am] astonished how, (when) I ordered you [to send] me a *chous* of oil, because oil is very (scarce) here this year, you did not [trouble] yourselves to send me (20) ... I am cast down because of this (shortage) of oil, except if you ... send it. Let each one (of us) remember (our) brotherhood ... (the cost?) I will send to you. (As for) the item (25) ..., and I am astonished how [you did not] ... at all from Chares ... for how much ... the gold nor ... (30) Take this cloth bag for you ... -alous. But if ... has given the small portion of fabric to you, then -alous says that he can pay. Write to me.

[I] greet my master, my father Pshai and [all] his [children] by their names. I am aggrieved (35) ... that they have demanded more from you ... trouble to you (sing.), saying: 'Do not go to ...'. ... but even if you were rigid ... However, [concerning] the matter of the small portion of ... but they gave it to me (40) ... you (should not?) find fault with me. I toiled to ... they did not allow me to take it ... of Lo. (tr) If Titoue allows me to take it ... I greet my loved sister Lo. I am astonished that you did not write ... very much about her, or indeed at all whether she exists! (45) I greet my brother ... all by their names.

### Commentary:

Address: The reading of Pamour's name on the address is most uncertain, though possible. Pakysis is another possibility (Pekysis with an -e- is less likely), and perhaps preferable given what seems to be a long vertical stroke remaining from the third letter of

the sender's name (i.e. a -κ- rather than -μ-). But it is really very difficult to reach any conclusion from these scant remains.

14 . ⲓⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁ: We have translated as ‘.. my mother Maria’. Of course, it looks very much like ⲕⲓⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ‘in each place’; but this kind of distributive ⲕⲁⲧⲁ (very common in Sahidic and elsewhere) seems to be absent in these letters.

15 The reading of the name Patuse is not entirely certain, but it is probably correct. Whilst this form is not found elsewhere in the archive, the closely related ‘Pauese’ is found in a letter by Pegosh (78, 29); and compare also Πετῆσις (P. Kellis I Gr. 8 and 9). These are all slight variations of the same common name, which etymologically indicates dedication to Isis (similarly the fem. Taese and contrast Petosiris).

18 Perhaps ⲱⲁⲧ ‘is lacking’ in the lacuna (and see comm. ad l. 21).

21 Similarly to l. 18, perhaps ⲱⲱⲱⲧ ‘shortage’ in the lacuna.

30, 32 It seems that a personal name ending -alous (or possibly -aleus) must be read in these two instances. For understanding ⲙⲁⲭⲈ in l. 32 as ⲡⲁⲭⲈ-, see the references collected at 114, 2.

37 ⲁⲕⲐⲱⲉ: We have translated this as ‘you were rigid’. The verb Ⲑⲱⲉ is commonly used for being physically paralysed; but, with no real context, we can not know whether this is meant or something more abstract.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 71**

**Inv #:** P 81C + P 93D

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** A substantial letter written on reused papyrus. The Coptic script is quite plain, though competent enough and easy to read. It is rather similar to that of 72 (also sent by Pamour), and may have been written by the same scribe. Whilst the script and construction of the latter piece appear a little more refined, this may simply be a matter of somewhat different circumstances at the time of writing. The text of 71 has been abraded in many places, but often there is enough preserved for us to reconstruct the sense. The



document has been reconstructed to be mostly complete. Smaller fragments have been added to restore the upper third, whilst the major piece of papyrus preserves the lower two-thirds. The dimensions are 272 x 175mm.

**Content:** The letter is sent by Pamour to his ‘sister’ Partheni, and also to ‘my son Andreas’. The name Partheni occurs frequently in the archive, especially in the letters of Pamour and his circle; and it may also be that the name Heni (which again is common) is simply a contraction of the same. It is unclear to us how many persons there were with this name (or names). Certainly we should not assume that all occurrences in the archive refer to the same woman; but the evidence of **75** would suggest strongly that the wife of Pamour’s brother Pegosh (Pekysis) was called Partheni. In this present letter then it is a reasonable supposition that Pamour (and Maria in her postscript) are addressing their sister-in-law, to use present-day terminology. Also, where in the content of the letter Pamour repeatedly refers to ‘him’ and ‘my brother’, he is in fact writing to Partheni about her husband Pegosh. ‘Father Pshai’ is also presumably their (common) father, i.e. Psais II in K.A. Worp’s stemma (P. Kellis I p. 51). However, the figure of Andreas is more problematic. The name occurs frequently in the archive, with many instances in the Pamour and Pegosh letters; but, whilst he is obviously an important figure, we have found it difficult to ascertain his exact relationship to the core characters.

The letter is a good example of the ‘Manichaean style’. There is the formulaic prayer to the ‘God of Truth’ (see the comments on **65**); and there is also an instance of the exclamation ΤΟΥΕΩΤΕ ΕΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ (‘Praise God!’ or similar) which is only found in texts of known Manichaean authorship (see further the comments at p. 80 of CDT I). However, as regards the actual content of this letter, it is difficult to reconstruct the events that lie behind it. Something would seem to have happened to Pegosh, and now Pamour and Maria are writing to Partheni and perhaps encouraging her to come. Presumably she is in Kellis, whilst the others are in the Nile valley; but the details of what this is all about are very unclear to us. Our attempted translation is, accordingly, very uncertain at times. It may be that the contents of **72**, especially Pamour’s remarks to

Pshai about 'your sister' (is this in fact their common sister-in-law Partheni?), can cast some light on the events.

**Address:**

verso

ἀπ(όδος) τῆ κυρία μου X Παρθενει  
ἀδελφῆ

Deliver to my sister X Partheni.

**Names:** Andreas; Bes; Jnpnoute; Maria; Noe; Pamour; Partheni; Pshai (x2)?;

**Text:**

- 1 [ΤΑC]ΩΝΕ ΠΗΕΡΙΤ ΕΤΤΑΪΑΪΤ ΠΤΟΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΝΑΚ ΠΑΜΟΥ[ΥΡ]
- 2 †[Ω]ΠΗΕ ΑΤΑCΩΝΕ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ ΜΠ ΝΕCΩΗΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΡΕΝ
- 3 ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC †ΩΠΗΕ ΑΡΩΤῆ 2ῆ ΠΧΑΪC
- 4 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ vac 2ΑΘΗ Π2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΩΛΗ[Λ]
- 5 ΑΠΩΤ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Π[Τ]Ε ΤῆΗΕ ΧΕΤΕΤΝΑΩΝ2 ΝΗΪ ΝΟΥ
- 6 ΝΑ6 ΠΟΥΑΪΩ Μ[Π] ΟΥΚΑΙΡΟC ΕΝΑΩΩC ΕΡΕΤῆΟΥΑΧ
- 7 2ῆ ΠCΩΜΑ ΑΡΕΤῆΡΑΥΤ 2ῆ Τ†ΥΧΗ ΕΡΕΤῆΤΑΛΗΛ
- 8 2ῆ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΡΕΤῆΟΥΑΧ ΑΒΑΛ ΠΠΙΡΕCΜΟC ΤΗ
- 9 ΡΟΥ ΠΠCΑΡΤΑΝΑC ΜΠ ΠΒΛΜΒΑΛ ΠΤΕ ΠΜΑΝΒΩΝΕ
- 10 †ῆΟΥ 6Ε 2ΑΠΡΑ Π[Π]CΕΧΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΡΕCΑ2ΟΥ ΝΗΪ Ε[ΤΒΗ]
- 11 Τῆ CΩΤΗΕ ΠCΕ ΝΕΤΑΪΤΕΟΥΑΥ ΑΡΑC ΠΝΙΜΑ ΕΙΩ[Α]
- 12 [ΟΥ]ΩΝ2 ΝΕΥ ΝΑΜΗΕ ΑΠΑCΑΝ Ε2Ε †[[6ΟΥ]]CΩ ΠΜ[ΑC]
- 13 ΧΕ ΕΡΟΥΚΑΕ ΕΙC . [ . . ] ΕΙΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΧΙΤΕ ΩΠ ΤΩΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΪ
- 14 ΑΠΙΜΑ ΕΩΑΝΤΑΕΙ †ῆΟΥ 2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΑΡΑC ΕΩΑΤΕ
- 15 ΠΒΑΡΩ2Ε ΝΤΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΤΝΑ† 2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΑΤΠC †ΧΙΤῆ Α
- 16 ΑΤΠῆ ΝΕC [[ΠΤΟΤC ΠΠΒΑΡΩ2Ε]] 2ΑΠ . . . . ΟΥ . . . .
- 17 [ . . . . ] 2Α ΠΑCΑΝ/ ΕΛCΤΕΟΥΑC vac ΝΕ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΑΪ 2ῆ . . . . C
- 18 . . . ΟΥΒΕ ΠΚΟΥvacΪ ΑCΧΟC ΝΗΪ ΧΕ ΑΝΟ ΑΡΑΥ . .
- 19 . . . . Α ΠΩΑΪ ΧΟC ΧΕ †ΝΑΚΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ Ν[ . . . . ]
- 20 . ΑΪΧΟC ΧΕ ΠΠΩΡ Π2ΩΒ ΝΕCΑΒΤΕ \ΕΝ/ ΑΚΑΥ

21     ῶΑΤΗΚ ἡΠCNO ΚΑ ΠΟΥΕ ΝΕΚ ΝΚ† ΠΟΥΕ ἡΠΑΣΑΝ  
 22     ΕΨΑΝΤΕ ΝΟΕ ΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΔΗΙ ΠΟΥΕ ΝἡΜΕ ΕΡΕ  
 23     ΤἡΝΝΕΥ ΓΑΡ ἡΜΕΥ ΧΕ ΤΕΤΗΔΒΩΚ ἡΤΕΤἡΜΙΩΕ  
 24     ΧΕ ΤΑΥΒΩΛΚ ΡΩ ΔΡΩΤἡ ΕΥ ΝΕ ΝΙΝΑΔ ἡῶΒΗΥ  
 25     ΟΥΕ ΕΤΕΤἡΕΥ ΑΪΧΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΔΡΩΤἡ ΧΕ ΠῶΤΑ ἡΑΤ  
 26     ΛΑΚΕ ΔΡῶΤἡ vac ΔΝΑΚ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΤCῶΕΪ ΕCΨΙΝΕ  
 27     ΑΤΕCΜΕΥ ἡἡ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ ΧΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΝΑΚ ΔΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ  
 28     ΤΕΤCῶΕΪ ΕCΨΙΝΕ ΑΤΑCΩΝΕ ΤΑΧΔΑΪC ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ  
 29     ΔCῶΕΪ ΔΕ ΝΗΪ ΧΕ †ΝΗΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΔΗΗ ἡΤΟ ΤΝΑΚΑΕ  
 30     ΑΤΑΩ . . ἡΛ . . ΕΝ ΠΜΑ ῶΨΕΥ ΨΨΗΤ ΑΒΑΛ vac  
 31     ΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΪΩΤ ΠΨΑΪ ΨΙΝΕ ΑΡἡΡΕΟΥ[[ΗΥ]]ΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ  
 32     ΝΟΥΡΕΝ ΧΟΣ ἡΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ ΧΕ ΑΪΧΙ ΝΕῶΑΪΤΕ ἡΤῶΤῶ ἡἡ  
 33     ΒΗC ΝΕΘΑΤΝΑΥCΟΥ ΝΗΪ ΑΪΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΤῶΤῶ ΠΝΕΥ  
 34     ἡΤΡΙΧΔΥ ΑΒΑΛ †ΝΑΤΡΟΥ<ἡ> ΤΛΕΠCΕ ΝΕ ἡCΑΡΤ vac  
 35     ΩΝῶ ἡΤΕΤἡΟΥΧΕΪΤΕ ΝΗΪ ΝΟΥἡΔ ΝΟΥΑΪΩ

tr36                              vac                              ΤΟΥΕΨΤΕ ἡΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΪ  
 37     ΕΪΨΑΝΤΕ . [ . ] . . Ε . . . . [ . . . . ] . . ΔἡΕΤΝΑ . . . . . ῶΔ ΠΙΩΤ . . . [ . . . . ] . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 38     [ . . . ] ΛΟΥ[ . ] ΜΩ . . . . . ἡ ἡΠἡ . . . . . [ . ] . ΔἡΝΝΑΤΙῶ . [ . . . . . ]  
 39     [Ο]ΥΝ ΟΥΛΑΥΕ Ν . . [ . . . . . ] ΧΕ †ΨΩΝΕ . . . . Δ . . . ἡ . ΑΨΠἡΝΕ [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . ]

8 ΠΝΕΥΜΑ for ΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ; ἡΠΠΡΕCΜΟC for ἡἡ- 12 ΑΠΑCΑΝ: -C- ex -N- corr. 15 ΑΤῶΨΙ  
 as it seems, read ΔΑΤῶΨΙ 25 ΕΤΕΤἡΕΥ: Ε<ΤΑ>ΤΕΤἡΕΥ 31 ΑΡἡΡΕΟΥ[[ΗΥ]]ΗΤΟΥ:  
 there seems to have been a scribal correction (apparently with the intention to change the singular  
 to an otherwise unattested plural form, or perhaps one should suppose somehow Τ<ΗΡ>ΟΥ?); also  
 one should read Δ<Ν>ΡἡΡΕΟΥΗ-

(To) [my] beloved sister, who is greatly honoured by me. (It is) I, Pamour. I greet my sister Partheni and  
 her children by name, especially my son Andreas. I greet you (pl.) in the Lord God; - greetings.

Before everything: I pray (5) to the Father, the God of Truth, that you will live for me a long time and a great period, being healthy in the body, flourishing in the soul and rejoicing in spirit, safe from all the temptations of Satan and the adversities of the evil place.

(10) Now, therefore, with respect to all the matters which you (fem. sg.) have written to me concerning him, listen to what I told him here. If I should truly make known to them about my brother - indeed I am saying, if they allow you ... - then let them take you as surety, since you (will by then) have come here. If now you do come, everything (will be) on him. When (15) the pack-animal has brought you out, I will deliver everything to be loaded; and I will take it to load it for him [[from the pack-animal]], on account of the ... for my brother, as he has told it. Father Pshai was ... the little ones. He said to me: "See them ...". Pshai said: "I will leave them ...". (20) I said: "Do not (do that). The matter would not be right to leave them (both) to you. Of the two, keep one for yourself and give one to my brother". If Noe shall come out, bring (that) one with you (fem. sg.). For you (pl.) see (?) there that you can go and fight; in that they were indeed angry with you. What are these big things (25) that you have done? For I said to you: "The endless (?) ... to you".

(It is) I, Maria, who is writing; greeting her mother and my daughter Jnpnoute. Indeed, I, Maria, am the one who is writing, greeting my sister, my lady Partheni. So, you wrote to me: "I am coming out". Come then! I will (not?) let you (30) ... The place is worthwhile. It is cut off (?). Greet my father Pshai. Greet all the neighbours by name. Tell Partheni that I have received the garments from Bes. The things that you sent me I have received from him. When I have cause to send out I shall make them <bring> to you the portion of wool. (35) Live and be healthy for a long time.

(tr) Praise God, truly! If I ... for father ... There is some ... for I am sick ...

### Commentary:

Address: If we presume that Παρθενητ is a dative, then one should of course read the name as 'Parthenis'. However, in this Coptic archive the name is always given as Partheni or Heni.

4-9 On the formulaic and Manichaean character of this opening prayer see our comments at the introduction to 65, and the note and references to 65, 7-15. For 'the temptations of Satan' see 25, 20-21. The term δΑΜΒΑΛ (δΛΛΑΝΒΑΛ) 'adversity' is unusual and a distinctive terminological feature of these prayers; see also 65, 14, perhaps 63, 27, and noting 80, 22. One should compare the occurrence at *PsBk2* 208, 9, where it is used

of a disaster at sea; and *1Keph.* 244, 9 where it seems to refer to some kind of rebellion by the archons. Thus, whilst the basic meaning will be something like a typhoon (CD 810a ‘wave?’), its semantic range certainly tends towards a spiritual catastrophe. In this present passage it is used for the characteristic dangers of ‘the evil place’. Probably, this latter term here does not mean hell, but rather the evil world in which we must live and where Satan rules (see e.g. *1Jo* 5:19).

9       ϢΑΡΤΑΝΑϢ: Forms of Satan’s name with (π)ϢΑΡ- as a first syllable have so far only been known from manuscripts of Middle Egyptian provenance; notably, the Schøyen codex of Matthew (dialect *M*): πϢΑΡΔΑΝΑϢ at Mt. 12: 26 and 16: 23 (see H.-M. Schenke, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Schøyen)*, Oslo, 2001) and the Cologne codex of Testament literature (non-standard Sahidic): πϢΑΡΤΑΝΑϢ at Job 5: 22; 6: 17 and *passim* (see Gesa Schenke, *Der koptische Kölner Papyruskodex 3221, Teil I: Das Testament des Iob*, Papyrologia Coloniensia 33, Paderborn 2009).

15-16   ΒΑΡΩϞΕ: On the identity of the pack-animals (camels?) see comm. ad **20**, 54; but here one might better understand reference to the driver himself.

19       This Pshai may well not be the same as ‘father Pshai’ mentioned just before (l. 17). Instead, one is inclined to identify him the recipient of **72**, and to suppose that the events discussed here relate to those in the following letter.

20       ⲙⲡⲱⲣ ⲡϞⲱⲃ ⲛⲈϢΑΒΤⲈ ⲬⲈⲛ/: In order to understand this somewhat problematic line in its proper context, we assume the verb ϢΑΒΤⲈ to be used in its larger, metaphorical, meaning as ‘set in order’ (see CD 323ab, including ‘make εϗθετοϢ’, thus ‘well-disposed, smooth, right’), here used intransitively and thus turned into passive.

25-26   ⲡϞⲧΑ ⲛⲁⲧⲗⲁⲕⲈ: Perhaps ϞⲧΑ is an unattested noun form related to ϞⲱⲧⲈ ‘sweat’? In this case, the meaning could be something like: "The endless sweat (i.e. ‘labour’) is upon you". Still, the entire section from ϞⲈ to ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̅ looks like it may have been erased.

26-27   On this greeting by Maria to her mother (Maria) and daughter Inpnoute (= Tsempnouthes) see further **65**, 39-41 note ad loc.

30       One can only speculate about the significance of these comments. The text certainly appears to say that the place (where Pamour and Maria are) is ‘of value’ and

‘cut off’. Perhaps  $\bar{\rho}\omega\epsilon\gamma$  here means ‘prosperous’; but the connotation of  $\omega\eta\tau\ \lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$  is hard to fathom. Possibly it implies ‘shortage’ or ‘need’; i.e. if the family are traders, then the twin circumstances of a village where there is money but a lack of goods would be an attractive proposition.

32 The phrasing (‘Tell Partheni’) appears odd in a letter addressed to the same, but presumably the scribe is simply and rather literally copying down what Maria is saying.

33 Bes: This could be the same person as that Besas who has traveled between Pamour and Pegosh in P. Kellis I Gr. 72, 46.

33-34 The final letter of  $\pi\eta\epsilon\gamma$  has a strange anchor-like shape, but this must be the correct interpretation. The phrase about the hour to ‘send out’ ( $\chi\lambda\gamma\ \lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$ ) may well refer to the time of shipment of goods.

36 This line is written transverse on the lower part of the sheet. There appears to be nothing prior to it. It consists of what seems to be a typically Manichaean expression  $\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$  (‘Praise God!’; see further the references and comments in P. Kellis V at p. 80). It is then followed by  $\alpha\bar{\iota}$ , which must be for  $\gamma\lambda\bar{\iota}\omicron$  ‘verily’ (CD 636b-637a); see this form at Mt. 21: 30 in dialect *M* (Codex Scheide).

verso The faint remains of a line of Greek text can clearly be seen running transverse to the address across the lower part of the document. It has been read by K.A. Worp as: ‘Contract for the teaching of letters’ ( $\acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \mu\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ ). Obviously, the papyrus has been reused for the writing of this letter in Coptic.

### P. Kellis Copt. 72

**Inv #:** P 91A/B

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 5.

**Preservation:** This complete and extensive letter, written in Coptic on papyrus, is one of the better pieces in the archive. It has now broken into eleven fragments along the vertical and horizontal folds, but the original dimensions were 265 x 142 mm. There are clear underlying traces of an earlier letter, including  $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\ \mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$  in the final greetings

(now on the verso of the current letter). Thus that previous text most probably had also belonged to the same family group. The script of **72** is similar to the previous piece (**71**: sent from Pamour to Partheni). It may well have been written by the same scribe and one might suppose that it comes from a similar context in place and time.

**Content:** The letter contains many of the elements familiar from other examples in the archive, especially the comments about being far away and the heartfelt wishes to see one another again. The reference to the God of Truth indicates Manichaean belief. Almost certainly Pamour is in the Nile valley, whilst Pshai and Theognostos are in Kellis. The ‘father Pshai’ must again be ‘Psais II’ according to Worp’s stemma (P. Kellis I p. 51), and there are greetings and references to other familiar figures such as Kapiton (brother-in-law to the brothers Pamour and Pegosh?).

Insofar as the letter has a real point or content, it is an appeal to Pamour’s ‘brother’ Pshai to help his ‘sister’. Given the similarities of this piece to **71**, we are inclined to identify this woman with Partheni, the recipient of that earlier letter and probably the wife of Pegosh. Interestingly, there is no mention of Pegosh in this present letter; nor does Maria add her customary postscript. The Pshai to whom Pamour is writing is presumably the same as in **64** and P. Kellis I Gr. 71. Whether he is literally Pamour and Pegosh’s brother, perhaps the eldest son of their common father (‘Psais II’), is not entirely clear to us.

**Address:**

verso

τῷ δεσπότη μου      X      Ψάϊω Παμοῦρ

To my master X Psais. (From) Pamour.

**Names:** Apa L(ysimachos?); Hor; Jnpnoute; Kapiton; Lammon; Pamour; Pshai (x 2); Theognostos; Titoue;

## Text:

1 τῶι δεσπ[ότ]η μου ἀδελφῶι Ψάϊωϊ καὶ  
 2 Θεογνώστωι Παμοῦρ ἐν θ(ε)ῶ χαίρειν  
 3 ραθη μεν ἡρωβ nim †ψιν[ε] αρωτῆ τονογ  
 4 †ψληλ απιωτ πινογτε ἡ[τ]ε τμηε ρα πρετῆ  
 5 ογχεῖτε τετῆμῆτσαν ε[τ]ε μῆ κραϩ ἡρητς/ μῆ  
 6 λαγε γαρ σαγνε· ἀτ<αγ>απη ετρηαρτ ρῆ πα  
 7 ρητ ψαρωτῆ ειμητι απνογτε ἡογαετϩ  
 8 ἡταϩ ετσαγνε επμεῖε εἶδαψτ αβαλ ρητ  
 9 τηνε εἶογωψ νεγ αρωτῆ αλλα επιδη τε  
 10 τῆογην ἡμαῖ †ναψνεγ αρωτη εν εἶςϩε  
 11 ἡ νεκ/ ρῆ νειςϩεῖ ἡκμειμ νετϫι ψινε ετῆψι  
 12 νε ψατε ρο ογωψτ ρο· †νογ δε πασαν πωαῖ  
 13 εἶε ἡρβηγε νε νεῖ εταῖτεγ ατοτῆ εκνηγ  
 14 αβαλ ριτοτ χε ἡπῆμαρῆ ρητ ἡτκ  
 15 σωνε ρῆλαγε λιχος αρωτῆ χε ἡπῆ  
 16 βωκ τετῆτα μα μα αρωτῆ ρατῆβωκ  
 17 ρατῆπῆς ρεεσ αρωτη· †νογ τετῆ  
 18 ηπ εν ἀρῆρωβ ἡ†ϩε εψω<πε> ἡκμμε  
 19 ναμνε εσογωψε <α>ει ακημε εψωπε  
 20 αν εκσαγνε χε ογν ρνεγ ῥαας εῆπογ  
 21 κας λι ετβvacHTῆ εἶε τε[ε]ϩ ἡτακ  
 22 ραρας ἡκςϩεῖ ηῆ χε λι† ο †νατῆ  
 23 {τ}ναγϩ νεκ ἡβλαμ ψινε ηῆ απαῖωτ  
 24 πωαῖ ατῆρῆμε ἡῆεϩψηρε ψινε απα  
 25 σαν καπιτων ῥατῆρῆμε vac ἡῆ νεϩ  
 26 ψηρε ακςϩεῖ ηῆ χε αψωπε πμα μα  
 27 τῆ εἶε ρςϩεῖ ηῆ †νογ ειςρηπε  
 28 †ςϩεῖ νεκ εψωπε εκογωψ ει αβαλ α  
 29 νογ παςα ψη χῆ αβαλ ψινε  
 30 απαψηρε λαμνων ἡῆ τῆρῆμε  
 31 παψηρε †τογε ψινε αρωτῆ ϣηιμα ρατηῖ



32     ϞΙΝΕ ΝΗΪ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΔΝΔCΝΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥ(ΝΟΥ)ΡΕΝ  
 33     ΕΙC †ΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕΒΑΤ †ΩΩΝΕ ΠΖΜΑΤ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΗΠ  
 34     ΑΪΛΟ ΩΝΖ Ν̄ΚΟΥΧΕΙΤΕ ΝΗΪ Ν̄ΝΟΥΝΔC ΝΟΥΑΙΩ  
 tr35    Χ̄Ν̄ ΝΑΑΠΑ Λ . Μ̄Ν ΖΩΡ ΩΙΝΕ ΑΠΔCΑΝ ΠΩΔΪ ΤΟΝΟΥ Χ̄ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΡ̄ΗΤΑΝΑΪΕΤΟΥ  
 36                            vac   [Π]ϞCΑΝ CΝΕΥ ΠΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ

11-12 ΩΙ|ΝΕ: -N- ex corr.   14 ΝΔΖΚ̄: M- ex Δ- corr.   24 Μ̄ΝΕC-, i.e. Μ̄Ν ΝΕC-   25  
 ΔΤ̄C̄ΖΕΙΜΕ: Δ- ex corr. or erased?   29 ΠΔCΔ: first -Δ- ex corr?   36 ΠΔΙΑΚΩΝ: -N ex -K corr.

To my lord brother Psais, and Theognostos. (From) Pamour, in God; - greetings.

Before everything: I greet you (pl.) warmly. I am praying to the Father, the God of Truth, for your (5) health; your brotherhood in which there is no guile. For no one knows the love for you that pierces my heart, save God alone. He is the one who knows the love (with which) I am looking out for you and wanting to see you; but, since (10) you are far from me, I will not be able to see you. (Instead), I am writing to you (sg.) with these obscure (?) letters, which carry greeting after greeting until (the time when) face greets face.

So, now, my brother Pshai, are matters as I handed them over to you (sg.) when you left me, (saying): “Do not cause pain to the heart of your (15) sister in any way”? I told you (pl.): “Do not go and make every place pay you”. (But) you went and you extended the muck to you. Now, you are not supposed to act like this. Do you truly know if she wants to come to Egypt? Also, if (20) you know that she has a debt because of which she is not allowed to come, then pay it, you on her behalf; and write to me, “I have paid whatever”. I will send it to you (i.e. I will repay you) quickly.

Greet for me my father Pshai, his wife and his children. Greet my (25) brother Kapiton, his wife and his children.

You wrote to me: “When the place is quiet, then write to me”. Now (that it is), see, I am writing to you. If you want to come out, come ...

Greet (30) my son Lammon and his wife. My son Titoue greets you. He is here with me. Greet warmly for me my brothers, each one by name. I have been ill for five months; by the grace of God I have recovered. Live, and be of good health for me for a long time.

(tr. 35) From those of Apa L(ysimachos?) and Hor: Greet my brother Pshai warmly. Inpnoute, the woman from Tanaietou; her two brothers; the deacon; (they all) greet you.

### Commentary:

Address: One should perhaps note the somewhat strange Greek name form in the dative  $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\omega}\iota$ , here and in l. 1 (i.e. as if from  $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  rather than  $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ ). Similarly, the address of **115**; and probably **64** and **70**.

11  $\bar{\eta}\kappa\mu\epsilon\iota\mu$ : We think that this must be a variant form of  $\kappa\mu\eta\mu\epsilon$  ‘dark(ness)’ or ‘black(ness)’; and not the conjunctive  $\bar{\eta}\kappa$ - plus some verb such as  $\mu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\epsilon$  ‘love’, or  $\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon$  ‘understand’ (cf. l. 18). However, it is not clear whether the meaning is literal (perhaps referring to letters in black ink) or more abstract (we have translated it as ‘obscure’). It is probably too ambitious to understand ‘Egyptian’, i.e. as Coptic or even as written from Egypt (CD 110a). A second issue is whether it is attributive, which is how we have translated it; or otherwise whether it is the start of a cleft sentence with a nominal plural as vedette: ‘It is the black things (ink strokes?) that carry ...’ etc. A very different approach would be to understand  $\kappa\mu\epsilon\iota\mu$  as a place name (Akhmim?).

11-12  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ : This is a second occurrence in the Pamour letters of an unclear  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$  (see also **66**, 29). Unfortunately, we have not been able to find a common interpretation, fitting them both.

12  $\omega\lambda\tau\epsilon\ \gamma\omicron\ \omicron\gamma\omega\omega\tau\ \gamma\omicron$ : ‘until face greets face’. For similar phraseology see the examples at CD 647a, as well as *1Keph.* 206: 17; 220: 10; 235: 16. In none of these instances, however, is the connective term verbal. For  $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\tau$  with a simple  $\gamma\omicron$  cf. **90**, 7. It probably stands for a respectful, possibly affectionate, encounter.

17  $\gamma\lambda\tau\bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\rho}\varsigma\ \pi\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\ \lambda\rho\omega\tau\eta$ : ‘you extended the muck to you’. The exact connotation of this is presumably colloquial (perhaps ‘you have covered yourself with dung?’). Our understanding of Pamour’s complaint is that he thinks Pshai has been harsh in his (financial?) demands where he should have been generous, and that this reflects badly on him.

20  $\omicron\gamma\eta\ \gamma\eta\epsilon\gamma\ \lambda\rho\alpha\varsigma$ : ‘that she has debts’ or ‘that she owes something’. The following context makes it sufficiently clear that  $\lambda\rho\alpha//$  is here predicated in the common

sense of ‘debt’. This implies that the zero-determined  $\varrho_{\text{H}\in\Upsilon}$  functions as an indefinite pronoun (for which normally  $\text{o}\gamma\lambda\text{n}$  is used in the debt formula).

26-27  $\lambda\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \pi\mu\alpha\ \eta\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ : ‘When the place is quiet ..’. It is possible that we are over-interpreting the meaning of ‘the place’ (i.e. as the village or town from which Pamour is writing). Possibly, the meaning could be as prosaic as: ‘When you have a moment ..’. But from what follows it does seem that they are discussing travel to an actual destination. Compare also **71**, 30.

29  $\pi\lambda\zeta\lambda\ \psi\eta\ \chi\bar{\eta}\ \lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$ : The reading of  $\pi\lambda\zeta\lambda$  is uncertain, but the word does appear separated from the following  $\psi\eta$ . Perhaps one could read  $\pi\lambda\zeta\lambda\langle\text{H}\rangle$  (thus ‘.. come my brother’); and then understand  $\psi\eta$  for  $\psi\epsilon$  ‘go’, which is well-enough attested even in the south. Although this would still not make sense of what is actually written, it might suggest some overall meaning such as ‘come my brother - go out from there’. An alternative approach would be to read  $\pi\mu\alpha\ \psi\eta\chi\bar{\eta}\ \lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$ . Although what follows  $\pi\mu\alpha$  (‘the place’) remains incomprehensible to us, one might compare the phrasing at **71**, 30 of  $\pi\mu\alpha\ \bar{\rho}\psi\epsilon\Upsilon\ \psi\psi\eta\tau\ \lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$  (more comprehensible but still difficult, see the note ad loc.).

35  $\chi\bar{\eta}\ \eta\lambda\lambda\pi\lambda\ \lambda\ .$  : Although the final letter here is difficult to determine, we do not think that one should read a form of the name Jnapollo (even though such does appear at **64**, 32, also written from Pamour to Pshai). Instead, our understanding of the meaning is that greetings are sent from ( $\chi\bar{\eta}$ ) ‘those of’ (poss. pronoun  $\eta\lambda$ -) Apa L(ysimachos) and Hor, in which case one should suppose an abbreviation mark and thus  $\eta\lambda\lambda\pi\lambda\ \lambda/$ . For a reference to Lysimachos in this volume (and indeed many of the other characters in this present piece) see **82**, 38-39; and further on this person the discussion by I. Gardner, ‘P. Kellis I 67 Revisited’, *ZPE*, 159, 2007: 223-228 (especially p. 224). It will be seen that there are a number of documents in the archive that place Apa Lysimachos in the Nile valley, and that he is closely associated with Hor and Theognostos. One should read as background his two surviving letters: P. Kellis V Copt. **30** (written to Hor) and P. Kellis I Gr. 67 (to Theognostos). Pshai appears in both of these. Apa Lysimachos is also an important figure in the Makarios family letters, and he links those to the major groups in the present volume (particularly the core sets of letters by Pamour, Pagosh and Philammon).

Having said all that, it is not obvious who exactly are 'those of Apa Lysimachos and Hor'. Some speculation might be in order. The senior member of the Manichaean community in Egypt, 'The Teacher' (see **61**), certainly travelled up and down the Nile valley with a retinue of assistants. This is indicated, *inter alia*, by the boy Piene when he talks about 'following' after him (thus **29**, 13-17); but the same practice was a feature of lower levels of the hierarchy also, amongst whom we should count Apa Lysimachos as a Manichaean elect. This characteristic, the senior figure accompanied by young acolytes, provided ample fuel for anti-Manichaean polemic of course (for example, read al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. C. E. Sachau, London 1879: 209). We think it plausible that the 'those of' in this letter refer to members of the retinue who were known to the Kellis recipients of this letter. Some support for this theory can be derived from **82**, 37-40 where Philammon writes to his recipient '.. I asked Apa Lysimachos, (and) he said that we might not stay here'. If this is correct, then it is of particular interest for our understanding of Philammon, and indeed the religious and socio-economic relations between the Kellis believers and the church. On this network of persons and their correspondence (especially Lysimachos, Theognostos, Hor, Ision) see also the introduction in this volume to the letters by Philammon (**80-82**). Further, one might compare P. Oxy. 31 2603 (especially its reference to 'the company of Ision and Nikolaos'); the context for that letter is explored by I. Gardner, 'Once More on Mani's *Epistles* and Manichaean Letter-Writing', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* (forthcoming).

ΤΑΝΑΪΕΤΟΥ: This seems to be a place name, unless somehow one were to understand ΝΕΪΕΤ// ('blessed'). As a toponym, the word bears some resemblance to modern-day Teneida at the eastern end of the Oasis, although that name is commonly derived from Τ-ᲒΕΝΕΤΕ ('the monastery'); on which see further the note at **123**, 17.

### LETTERS BY PEGOSH (BROTHER OF PAMOUR)

This group of letters should be read together with the previous. As we have already seen, the two brothers Pegosh and Pamour are in the Nile valley from where they write these many letters to family members and associates in Kellis. The style of letters, the persons named and the topics discussed are very similar throughout. The time-frame must be within an approximate twenty-year span from the 360s into the 380s. Pegosh's wife was probably named Parthene (see 75). Further information can be derived from the documents published in P. Kellis I, since this Pegosh is clearly the same person as Pekysis the brother of Pamour 'III', son of Psais 'II' and grandson of Pamour 'I', according to the stemma reconstructed in that volume by K. A. Worp (p. 51). Text 44 there (pp. 130-132) details a loan of money to this Pekysis, which is dated 26/04 in 382 C.E. One should also read text 76. We include here Worp's translation of P. Kellis I Gr. 72, since it certainly belongs with the following letters in Coptic:

To my lord brother Pamouris, Pekysis your brother. Before all I greet you very much, praying for your health. Your wife greets you and your son Horos and his little sister. Your brother Horos greets you and Theognostos and Psais and all our family and we are in good health thanks to God's grace. Perhaps you heard about our son Horos that he is a liturgist just now and for that very reason you did not want to come to us, in view of the performance of the liturgy. So come, and he does not need you for that. I wonder why you have not sent me even one fleece, though you know that we had no other one in hand; you did not send it, neither to me nor to your own son. For not only he himself has no spare time for the service of the liturgy, but I myself have no spare time for even an hour because of such things. I am baffled by your carelessness towards us. For if you had bought the small amount of purple dye and only by sack, you did not send this. Remarkable: for you could buy a linen cloth and put it (the purple) in there and send that off to us. Please buy for me the little amount of nicely coloured wool. Greet for me my brother Philammon, if he is with you. Do what you are doing. I pray for your health and well-being in many years to come. (tr) And I'll come to you quickly for this, because you appeared heavy-headed. (v) And we were very sorry not receiving ... through the persons who now have come down to us, I mean Nestorios and Besas, the son of Syros. For the whole day on which they arrived he (?) still showed ...

N.B. It is to be emphasised that there are a number of letters edited later in this present volume (in the 'individual and unplaced' group) that are written to a Pegosh (such as 108), and also some to a Pamour. Almost certainly some of these belong to these earlier

groupings of letters sent by Pamour and Pegosh. Further, **120** is sent by a Pekos to a Pamour, and these could again be our very same brothers. In this latter case the letter has not been included in the present section as it remains uncertain whether it is simply a variant spelling of the name Pegosh / Pekysis, or actually the name of a different person (the form Πεκως is recorded elsewhere).

### **P. Kellis Copt. 73**

**Inv #:** P 52J

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** There remains approximately the upper two-thirds of a papyrus letter, in one piece. The ink is quite faded, and the document is now breaking along the vertical folds. The dimensions are 188 x 142 mm.; but the original height can be calculated from the centre fold as approximately 256 mm.

**Content:** Pegosh writes to Pshai, greeting Andreas and Theognostos. The latter two persons are paired together in a number of documents, and generally appear in close proximity to Pshai as well; compare e.g. the starts of **65**, **79** and P. Kellis I Gr. 71. They are all in Kellis. The content of this letter is about the care of two orphaned girls. The use of pronouns, and the modern reader's lack of background knowledge, can make the details difficult to follow. In our endeavour to make sense of events and instructions we have presumed a mixture of direct and indirect speech (i.e. in the English translation); but sometimes Pegosh's meaning remains frustratingly obscure. Still, we suppose that the orphaned girls must be in the Oasis. Their uncle (who apparently was not there when the mother died) heard of his sister's death and suggested Pegosh as guardian for one of the girls, though he will need to persuade the head of his household (since he himself is still quite young as indicated by his being called a 'boy' or at least a 'young man' κοῦῖ in l. 7). Pegosh is pleased to take on the responsibility, and is now writing to Pshai to find out if it is going ahead. Still, it remains not entirely clear to us whether Pshai is himself the

same person as the ‘father’, i.e. head of the household. Probably he is not, since Pegosh has written to the boy that he needs to persuade ‘my father’; whereas he addresses Pshai as brother. In that case the ‘father’ is probably that elder Pshai whom we have noted in other letters of the Pamour and Pegosh archive (i.e. Psais ‘II’ in Worp’s stemma). In all this, we are somewhat reminded of the girl who is to be sent out to Pamour and Maria (see 64, 30-31 note ad loc.).

### Address:

verso

τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ X ἀδελφῷ . . . . . [ . ] . . .  
 vac? εἰς Κέλλιν . . . . .

To my honoured X brother ...

To Kellis ...

**Names:** Andreas; Pegosh; Philammon; Pine; Pshai; Pfiham (?); Theognos; Theognostos;

### Text:

- 1 ΠΑCΑΝ ΜΗΞ[ΡΙΤ] ΕΤΑΪ [ΝΤΟΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ]
- 2 ΠΩΑΪ ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕCΩΨ Ψ[ΙΝΕ ΑΡΑ]Κ
- 3 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΖἸ ΠΧΑΪC ΧΑ[ΙΡΕΙ]Ν
- 4 ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ Ψ[ΙΝ[Ε ΑΠΑ]ΨΗ[ΡΕ] ΑΝΔΡ[ΕΑC]
- 5 Ψ[ΙΝΕ ΑΠΑCΑΝ ΘΕΟΓΝΩC[ΤΟC] ΤΟΝΟ[Υ . . . ]
- 6 ΤΝΟΥ ΔΕ Ψ[ΙΝΕ ΜΗΑΚ ΠΑ[CΑΝ] ΜΜΕΡΙΤ
- 7 [ΧΕ] ΕΨ ΤΕ ΘΕΠΙ[Δ]Η Α ΠΚΟ[ΥΪ] CΨΤΜ[Ε]
- 8 ΧΕ ΑΤCΩΝΕ ΜΟΥ [Δ]CΚΑ CΝΤΞ ΝΨΕΡΕ
- 9 ΑCΩΤΜΕ ΜΑΧΕC ΧΕ CΖΕΪ ΝΕC ΝCΤΗΝΑΥ
- 10 ΟΥΪΕ ΝΗΪ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΤΑΚΑC ΝΗΤΗΕ
- 11 ΝΝΙΨΕΡΕ ΜΑΧΕC ΤΝΑCΙ ΠCΡΑΥΨ ΝΘΞ
- 12 ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΔCΧΟC ΝΟΥCΑΠ ΝCΝΕΥ ΝΞ
- 13 ΔΪΔΖΕ ΔΪCΖΕΙ ΝΕC ΧΕ ΚΝΑΠΙΘΕ ΜΠΑ
- 14 ΪΨΤ ΪΨΧΕ ΚΗΚ ΝΖΗΤ ΤΑΠΖΩΒ ΑΥΩ
- 15 ΤΜΑΙΖΕ ΖΨΤ Χ[Ε] ΚΠΙΘΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΕC

16 ΟΥΑΨϢ ΔΕϢ ΝϢΑΧϞ ΟΧΕΤΝΑΡ ΠΩΜΨϢ  
 17 ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗϢΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤΠΙ ΧΑΒΑΤ Δ  
 18 ΠΖΕΠ ΙΨΧΕ ΚΠΙΘΕ ΝΙΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΝ ΠΙΝϢ  
 19 ΝϢΙΝΤϢ ΝΗΙ ΔΒΑΔ' ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΙ ΤΟΝΟΥ  
 20 ΑΠΙΝϢΑΝ ΠϢΙΖΑΜ ΠΙΝϢΑΝ ΘΕΟΓΝΩϢ  
 21 [Ϣ]ΝΑΤΕΥΟ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΔΡΑΚ ϢΝΑϢΕΧΕ  
 22 [Ν]ΜΜΕΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΚΟΥΙ ΑΥΩ . . . ΤΡΑ . ΤΙ .  
 23 [ . . . ] ΑΠΖΩΒ Ε[ΤΑΙ Χ]Ε ΕΝΑΠΖ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΨΑΔ  
 24 [ΝΗΖΕ . . . . . ]

(tr)25 †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΙ[ΩΤ] Φ[Ι]ΛΑΜΜΩΝ [†]ΨΙΝϢ ΑΠΑ[ . . . . . ]  
 26 ΑΙϢΩΤΜΕ ΧΕ ϢΙΝΑ . . . ΤΑΨΕΡΕ ΑΚΠ[ . . . . . ]  
 27 ΙΩΤ ΠΠ . . . ΝΑ . [

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7 ΘΕΠΙ[Δ]Η: i.e. ΘΕ ΕΠΙ[Δ]Η 14 read ΤΑ<̄̅>ΠΖΩΒ 15 read †<̄̅>ΜΑΙΖΕ

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(To) my beloved brother, revered [greatly by me], Pshai. I, Pegosh, greet you warmly in the Lord; - greetings.

Before everything: I greet my son Andreas. (5) I greet my brother Theognostos warmly. So, now, I greet you my loved [brother, for] how is it since the boy heard that his sister had died and left two daughters? (When) he heard, he said: "Write to him that he may send (10) one of them to me", so that I can keep her for you. He said I will take care of her like a daughter. He said it a second time. I have waited. I wrote to him: "Will you persuade my father if you are content for me <to do> the thing?". And (15) I myself am wondering whether you are persuaded? Because he wants to do it head-over-heels so that you will perform the service for the church, and this is a hard burden at the judgement. If you are persuaded, then will you bring Pine and he can bring her out to me.

Greet for me warmly (20) our brother Pfiham. Our brother Theognos will tell you everything. He will speak to you about the girl and ... the [great (?)] matter, so that we may attain life eternal ...

(tr 25) I greet my father Philammon. I greet my ... I heard that he will ... my daughter. You have ... father ...



**Commentary:**

5      ΘΕΟΓΝΩC[ΤΟC]: The lacuna may be too short for all three letters, and perhaps instead one might read ΘΕΟΓΝΩC[ΤΕ].

9, 11   ΜΑΧΕC: i.e. ΠΑΧΕC. See CD 285a and the references collected at **114**, 2. This is only the end product of a ‘nasalisation’ process for ΠΑΧΕ//, which makes it sometimes into ΠΠΑΧΕ// (as attested, *inter alia*, four times in the Heidelberg codex of *Acta Pauli*, in the neighbouring dialect *L6*), perhaps before it becomes fully assimilated into ΜΑΧΕ// (as here and in the closely related dialect *A*, see Sophonias 1, 2f.).

12      The construction is not quite clear. Perhaps a literal translation would be: ‘He said it once, (and then a) second (time)’. But the final ΝΕ remains without explanation.

16-17 The somewhat unusual construction of ΝCΑΧΟ must indicate an impetuous ‘headlong’ desire, (we have translated ‘head-over-heels’), to do this deed as a service for the church; but that involves postulating an artificial ‘absolute’ form of the suffixal adverb ΠCΑΧΩ// (*B, S*), CΑΧΩ// (*B, L4*), cf. CD 756b. Alternatively, one might consider ΝCΑΧΟ (CD 384a), perhaps to mean ‘officially’. Either way, we are strongly reminded of *kephalaion* 80 (‘The Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness’) where it is instructed that as the second work of the catechumenate: ‘A person will give a child to the church for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative [or member] of the household; or if he can rescue someone beset by trouble; or buy a slave, and give him for righteousness (*1Keph.* 193: 5-8)’.

17-18 ΠΕΙΩΤΠ ΧΑΒΑΤ ΔΠΖΕΠ: This is an unusual phrase, but we think the meaning is to do with a heavy religious duty to fulfil, and one of considerable weight at the time of judgement. The matter is of some particular interest when considering the nature of Manichaeism, its appeal and demands on the believers.

20      From the context should we suppose that this Theognos is a different person to the Theognostos greeted in l. 5?

ΠCΠΖΑΜ: Whilst the text clearly reads like -C-, it may be noted that in **46** there is found the name Shiham. No other occurrences of either name are recorded Hasitzka’s *Namen*. It is plausible that this is an Aramaic name (cf. Shechem, Gen. 34:13).

**P. Kellis Copt. 74****Inv #:** P 56C(a)i**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.**Preservation:** This is a single strip of papyrus with the scant remains of a letter written in Coptic. However, it also preserves the address on the verso.**Content:** Nothing can be said about the content.**Address:**

verso

] Πεκῦσις Ψάϊς ὁ ἀδελ-

φός σου

(To) ...

] (From) Pekysis (son of) Psais, your brother.

**Names:** Pekysis, son of Psais;**Text:**

- |    |                  |
|----|------------------|
| 1  | ]ϣΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ [     |
| 2  | ]ΙΜΕ vac . [     |
| 3  | ] . . ΝΕ Δ . . [ |
| 4  | ]ϣΕ . . . Δ . [  |
| 5  | ] . . . . . [    |
| 6  | ] . ḆΛ . . [     |
| 7  | ]ϷΔ . . . [      |
| 8  | ] . λ . . . [    |
| 9  | ] . . . . . [    |
| 10 | ] . ΗΟ . . [     |
| 11 | ]ϸΗΛΕ Δ[         |

12 ] . . η€ . [

13 ]ϷηϷ[

**Commentary:**

Address We think that the preserved portion of the address gives only the name of the sender, i.e. Pekysis son of Psais; even though this means that the writer has been sloppy in failing to decline the name of the father (i.e. it appears to be nominative where it should be genitive). Of course, the alternative is to suppose that Psais has written to Pekysis, in which case the scribe has simply been sloppy as regards giving the appropriate form Πεκύσι for the recipient. It is difficult to decide either way; but, although the addition of the patronymic is rather uncommon in the Coptic Kellis letters, we have compared the next piece (75) where there is a definite example of the same. Here the address is complete:

κυρία μου ἀδελφῆ X Παρθενε Πεκύσις Ψαΐς  
Παμοῦρ

To my lady sister X Parthene. (From) Pekysis, (son of) Psais, (grandson of) Pamour.

From the opening of that letter we can be certain that the author was indeed Pegosh (Pekysis); and that, although first he formally greets his father and brothers, he is really writing to his wife Parthene. Thus, from these two examples we confirm that Pekysis is the son of Psais and grandson of Pamour, which corresponds precisely to the Greek evidence in P. Kellis I (see p. 51).

3 Probably one can read again †]ωῖη€ Ϸ.

11 Ϸηλ€: Perhaps this is an instance of the name ‘Kellis’ (apparently spelt δηλλ at 50, 40 and maybe δηλη at 108, 27).

**P. Kellis Copt. 75**

**Inv #:** P 56D

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** A letter written in Coptic on papyrus. It is complete in one piece, though now almost broken at the centre fold. Whilst the surface is slightly abraded in places, virtually the entire text can be read. The dimensions are 270 x 55 mm., with an upper margin of 6 mm. Traces of a previous text are clearly visible on the verso.

**Content:** The excellent preservation makes this an exemplary piece in the House 3 archive. Pegosh writes to his wife Parthene. First he greets his father and brothers, (presumably) according to the conventions of a somewhat patriarchal society. But the major content of the letter concerns his directions to Parthene about the textile trade. Notably, Kapitou (i.e. Kapiton) adds a note to Tagoshe (his wife?) about a similar matter. This all corresponds closely to the context apparent in other letters and documents from House 3. The women are in Kellis, where they are engaged in weaving and the making of garments. Many of the men are away in the Nile valley. The remarkable number of letters found at House 3 can in good part be understood against this background of absence, trade and transport requests.

**Address:**

verso

κυρία μου ἀδελφῆ X Παρθενε Πεκῦσις Ψάϊς

Παμοῦρ

To my lady sister X Parthene. (From) Pekysis, (son of) Psais, (grandson of) Pamour.

**Names:** Kapitou; Pane; Parthene; Pegosh (= Pekysis, son of Psais, grandson of Pamour); Tagoshe; the man of Mono (?);

**Text:**

- 1     ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕΣΩΩ
- 2     †ΩΙΝΕ ΑΠΙΩΤ
- 3     Μῆ ΝΑCΝΗΥ
- 4     †ΩΙΝΕ ΑΤΑ
- 5     CΩ/ΙΜΕ Μῆ ΝΕC
- 6     ΩΗΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ

7 ποῦρεν χι  
 8 πῖσαυ ἡῖ  
 9 μῖνα ἡσαρτ  
 10 ἡῖ ἡητε  
 11 σε ἡπαετι  
 12 χιτοῦ τοτϷ  
 13 ἡπαηε  
 14 οὔααϷ ἡστι  
 15 χα εἡαηοῦϷ  
 16 τετῖῖααϷ  
 17 ἡηῖ αῖμααϷ  
 18 ἡτεααημε  
 19 †ῖῖααααε η  
 20 ηῖῖαμε <ε>τε ἡ  
 21 πεῖῖῖααυ οὔεπῖστο  
 22 λη ἡηῖ ἡτοτοῦ  
 23 πσαπ` γαρ ετῖαῖ  
 24 χι τετῖῖεπῖστολη  
 25 απ̄ ἡτωτῖ ἡε  
 26 ψαρινο αραυ ἡῖοο[Υ]  
 27 τῖῖεῖβαλ ῖῖοτῖηῖ[ε]  
 28 ετβητ εψωπε [ε]  
 29 τετῖῖαδῖ ἡετῖα  
 30 τῖϷ ἡητῖ ῖα ῖβαϷ  
 31 εῖ{τ}ε καλωσ εψω  
 32 πε λη ἡῖαη ἡῖε η  
 33 ἡαη ῖῖνο απετῖῖεϷ  
 34 πρη ἡῖῖῖαω Δ[ε]  
 35 ἡῖῖῖα ῖῖῖητϷ  
 36 αρωτῖ ἡααεϷ  
 37 αε τετῖῖῖεϷ κα  
 38 πῖτοῦ πετῖῖεῖ ἡτα

39 ⲃⲟⲩⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ

40 {ἔρ-}

tr41 ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲧⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲧⲛⲛⲁⲗϥⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲭⲉϥⲓ ⲛⲥⲧⲓⲭⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲗϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲃⲱⲩⲱ ⲧⲱⲛⲉ  
ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲛⲉϣⲥⲛⲛⲓⲩⲱ

v42 ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲓⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲣⲛⲟ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ

43 ⲁⲛ ⲛⲡⲉⲥⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛⲛⲧⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟϥⲃⲃⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲱ-

44 ⲥⲱⲁⲓ ⲥⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲟⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲟⲓⲥ ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲥ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣ[ⲑⲉⲛⲉ]

(It is) I, Pegosh. I greet father and my brothers. I greet my (5) wife and her children by their names. Take these six *mna* of wool (10) and sixteen coils. Take them from Pane, cut it (i.e. the wool) for a (15) good *sticharion*; and send it to me. I have paid him for its freight.

I am amazed by (20) these people, with whom you did not send any letter to me. For any time I shall receive a letter of yours (pl.), (25) count on it, yours are the ones I shall look for (?). The day I came away from you (pl.) (it was?) on my own account.

If you (pl.) can find anyone who will (30) pay you for cloth, then good. If not, then not. I have seen something useful (i.e. 'of good quality?'). And, the man of Mono (35) is here: I asked him about you (pl.). He said that you are well.

It is Kapitou who (now) writes to Tagoshe, greeting her. (40) {Farewell.} (tr) The small quantity of wool that I sent you (fem. sg.): Cut it for a *sticharion*, and send it with (the belongings of) Pegosh. I greet my father and his brothers. (v) If you have received the item from the man, write to me. And if you did not write to me there is no word confirmed about the gold.

I pray that you will be well for many years, my lady Parthene.

### Commentary:

Address: See the note to the address of 74.

1-7 The opening formalities are brief and 'business-like'. In l. 7 Pegosh comes rapidly to the point with an imperative: ⲭⲓ 'Take'. One wonders whether the peremptory style is itself an indication of the intimacy of the relationship, formalities being reserved for relatively distant relationships?

2 One suspects that 'my father' (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧⲓ) was intended.

5-6 ‘Her children’ may imply a previous marriage, but probably this is reading too much into it. On such usage see the discussion by E. Dickey, ‘Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri’, *Mnemosyne* 57, 2004: 131-176 [167-168].

11 ΠΛΕΤΙ: This may be for *πλεκτή*, LSJ 1415b. Admittedly, the noun is not recorded in the Greek papyri from Egypt, but there is found the adjectival κ[ίστη]ν *πλεκτήν* in P. Mert. II 72, 21 (a list of marriage goods). We have translated ‘coils’, as the range of meaning includes twisted rope, nets and mats. It could indicate wool that has been spun, in contrast to *σαρτ*. Perhaps one might translate as ‘hank’, which is also coiled and used to indicate a measure.

13 The reading of the name ‘Pane’ is uncertain, and no other instance of this is found in the archive. Perhaps it is another name; or one might consider whether *πλ-* is rather the possessive article, followed by a short noun (brother, son or whatever).

19 The handwriting changes notably at this point. Perhaps it is to do with a change of writing implement, and a sudden realization that space is short. But we think that there must be a new scribe, with the hand now being more fluent and cursive, and a marked slant to the letters that were previously rather square and upright.

19ff. It is probable that Pegosh’s meaning has been condensed here. Presumably, he was shocked not at the travelers from the Oasis, but at the fact that they had not brought any letter; or perhaps he means that he expressed his surprise to them.

25ff. Again, Pegosh’s meaning is very condensed. But the basic sense must be that he is really looking forward to a letter from his wife, and he wants her to be in no doubt about it. He seems to say that the reason he is away is all for her sake.

28ff. Pegosh’s instructions to Parthene are to sell the cloth if she can; but, if not, at least it will be useful in other ways.

34 ΜΩΝΩ: Perhaps one might read ΜΕΜΝΩ. An alternative approach would be to read ωϚ[Ϛ] | ΝΝΙΜΑ, i.e. ‘the man from *mon* is staying here’. In this case it could be that the intended meaning was something like ‘the employee of Ammon’ (or Lammon, or even Philammon).

40 {ἐρ-}: As in other instances in the archive, this abbreviated Greek farewell must have been written on the papyrus sheet before the Coptic text. It makes no sense here,

interrupting the obvious flow of the letter which continues down the side and then overleaf.

42-43 The details of this transaction are not very clear to us, though see further on this **69**, 2-3 note ad loc. Kapitou is seeking some confirmation about it (l. 43 might be more loosely translated as ‘.. and if you do not write, then there is no agreement about the money [i.e. gold coins = *solidi*?]’); though it is not obvious whether this refers to what has been handed over by Tagoshe, or the amount that he himself must pay.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 76**

**Inv #:** P 56E

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.

**Preservation:** A large letter on papyrus, written in Coptic. It is mostly complete, with dimensions of 280 x 82 mm. However, the document is breaking into strips along the folds, (it is completely separated at the centre); and the text itself is badly abraded, especially in the upper half. The hand and general design is very similar to **67** and **68**, which are both by Pamour; and one supposes that all three pieces are products of the same workshop in the Nile valley.

**Content:** Pagosh writes to Partheni, but (as in **75**) begins with greetings to males in the household, before continuing with instructions to his wife about the textile business. There seems to be a postscript by Chares; but, unfortunately, these final lines (especially the verso) are poorly preserved, and of little help for reconstructing the family relations. See further the note at l. 44.

#### **Address:**

verso

ἀπ(όδοϛ) Παρθ[ενι] X . . . παδρω

Deliver to Partheni. X From Pagosh.



**Names:** Chares; Heni; Hor; (mother) Maria; Pagosh; Pamour; Pollon; Shai; Tiberi;

**Text:**

1        ἀνακ παδωψ πετςζεϊ [ε]τψινε  
 2        ἀπασαν μηεριτ ετταϊαϊτ  
 3        ἦτ[ο]τ τοἰου ζωρ μῆ νεκωηρε  
 4        εγσαπ κατα [πο]υρει  
 5                                    χα[ι]ρειν  
 6        ζαθη ἦζωβ [ν]ιμ †ψ[ι]νε αρωτῆ τ[ο]  
 7        νογ [α]γω †[ψα]ηλ [α]πιν[ο]υ]τε ξεσα  
 8        παϊς αρωτ[η . . . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] εναρη . ἦ  
 9        κε[σ]απ ε[ . ] . . . . . [ . ] δε ανακ  
 10        πετςζεϊ ηἠ[τῆ . . ] ετ . ου . . . α  
 11        ζο . ηζις . . [ . . ] ἦζητψ αγω [ο]γ[α]ϊψ  
 12        νι[μ] ζιτε[ο]γ . [ . . . ] † εφμηζ ν[ . ] . [2]  
 13        τξου ἦπ[ . . . . ] . . τ[ . ]σω . . . .  
 14        τε[τ]ατατ . . η . . . . ζξ . . ζ . ν[η]ϊ  
 15        ξε ἦπεφντψ . . . . . ξο . εφ[ . ] ξε[ . ] ε  
 16        μεν ἦπεξ . . . . μπ . . ωνε ξε  
 17        η[ . ] † εταϊεογ . . . . ξ . [ . ] . εφεν[ . . ] .  
 18        ψαρεῆτα . . . . . [ . . ] . . α . . [ . . . ]  
 19        ηε εσαπ . . νηῖ μπ . . . . . † . . .  
 20        [ . . . ] †μη[ . . ] ἦναγ †νατρεφζωψ  
 21        ο[γ]αν εψωπε ζατῆψι σατ ἦτοτψ  
 22        . . αγτε ἦζμεσαψε ἦψε αγω ζα  
 23        κςζεϊ νηῖ ξε ἦπουχι ἦσατ ετζι  
 24        τ[η]ναυσε ξε σεζαγ εβε ταγτε εζι  
 25        σατπογ ζ[ῆ]ογβαν †ηαῖ ἦτακ πασα  
 26        ψαῖ ἦογσατ ζιτνηαυς ογν† ζμε  
 27        η[ῆ] μῆτη ζιως εψωπε εκογωψ  
 28        ἦ[ῆ]ε φιτς νεκ εψωπε αν εκογωψ

- 29 ΤΕϚ Ν̄ΖΕΗ[Ι] ΟΥΑΧΕϚ ΔΗ ΣΤΗΝΑΥϚ  
 30 Ε[.]. ΤΕϚ †ΤΡΟΥΝ̄ΚΕΟΥΪ ΔΗ ΝΕΚ ΟῩ  
 31 [Ω]ΔΑΜΤ Λ[Α]Β[Η]Ϛ Ν̄ΤΒ̄Τ Μ̄Ν ΖΜΕ Ν̄ΕΙ Ν̄  
 32 Κ. ϚΕ Ν̄[. .] Ν̄ Ν̄ΖΗΤϚ ΖΙΤΕϚ Ν̄ΧΑΡΗϚ  
 33 . [ . ] Ρ̄ΠΑ[ . . ] Ρ̄Ν̄Ε ϚΕΡ ΠΙ ΠΕΤΝΑΪΩΜ  
 34 [Μ̄Ν]Ν̄ΣΩ[Ϛ] †ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΟ Μ̄Ν ΝΑΩΗΡΕ  
 35 [ . . ] Μ̄ΠΕΝΧΙ ΝΕΪ ΝΑΜΗΕ Ν̄ΤΟΤΤΗΝΕ  
 36 [ . ] ΕΪΗ . . ΕΙΩΠΕ ΖΕ Ν̄ΤΕΤΕϚ ΝΕϚ Μ̄  
 37 [Π]ΚΑϚ ΕΤΖΜΑϚ ΜΑΡϚΟΥΑΧΕϚ ΔΗ  
 38 ΣΤΗΝΑΥϚ †ΝΑΤ[Ρ]ΟΥΝ̄[ΤϚ . . ] . . .  
 39 [ . ] . ΝΟΥ . . ΩΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΩΗΡΕ . . . . .  
 40 [ . . ] ΣΖΕΪ ΝΗΪ ΕΤΒΕ † . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 41 ΖΑ ΤΙΒΕΡΙ ΔΩΤϚ ΝΙΩΗΡ[Ε . . . . . ]  
 42 . . ΜΗΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ[ΦΑ]ϚΙϚ [ vac? ]  
 43 ΩΝΖ ΟΥΧ[Ε]Ϊ[ΤΕ . . . . . ]  
 tr44 ΑΝΑΚ ΧΑΡΗϚ †ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΠΑΪΩΤ ΠΑ . [ . . . . Μ̄Ν] ΝΕΚΩ[Η]Ρ[Ε ΚΑ]ΤΑ ΠΟΥΡΕ<Ν>  
 ΑΪΧΙ ΤΧΛΔΕ Ν̄  
 45 ΤΟΤϚ Μ̄ΠΑΔΩΩ . . [ . ] . . . . . Ε[ . ] ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΑ[ . . . . ] ΡΩΜΕ ΔΤ . . . . . ϚΚ †ΩΩΠ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΚΖΜΑΤ  
 46 vac vac ΖΩ[Β ΕΚ]ΟΥΑΩϚ . . . . . †ΝΑΕϚ  
 ΕΪΡΕΩΕ  
 v47 †ΩΙΝΕ ΑΤΑΜΟ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΟΥΟΥ ΠΑΜΟΥΡ . . .  
 48 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 49 . . . . . Ν̄ . . . . . ΔΧΟϚ ΝΕΥ  
 50 ΧΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΤ̄ΝΚ ΟΥΛΑΥΕ Ν̄ΚΤ̄Ν̄ΑΥϚ ΝΗΪ . . .  
 51 . . . . .  
 52 Μ̄ΠΡΡΑΜΕΛΙ ΔΤ̄Ν̄ΑΥ ΠΡΗΩ ΝΗΪ ΔΤΝΧ[ . ]  
 53 ϚϚ . ΝΝΑ . Ν . ΔΥ ΠΖΝΟ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΤΝ̄ΑΥϚ  
 54 . . . . .  
 55 . . . . .  
 56 . . . . .  
 57 . . . . .

58 .....  
 59 ..... ἸΠΟΛΛΩΝ  
 60 .....  
 61 .....  
 62 ..... Ἐ[Ι]ΡΕ ἸΜΑΥ ἸΧΟΥ  
 63 ΩΤ ἸΩΕ ἸΠΑΤΟΥΧΙΤΟΥ ΡΩ †ΩΙΝΕ  
 64 vac ἀΡ .....

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22 ἸΖΜΕΣΑΩΥΕ: Ἰ- ex corr. 33 ἘΡ: -Ἐ- ex corr. (or read -Μ-?); -ΩΜ: -Ω- ex corr. (with correction mark above?) 52 ΜΠΡΡΑΜἘΛ: -Π- looks like -Ν-

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(It is) I, Pagosh, who writes (and) greets my loved brother who is greatly honoured by me: Hor, and your children together by their names, (5) - greetings.

Before everything: I greet you (pl.) warmly, and I pray to God that he may watch over you ... again ... I (10) am the one who writes to you ... in it, and always I have given them full ... I have given them to ..., the one that he has ... for me; (15) in that he did not bring it ... which I did ... should ... as he ... to me for the ... (20) ... them, I will make him send someone. If you (pl.) took wool from him ... 4700 (talents); and you (sg.) wrote to me that they did not accept wool that I had sent them, saying “they are bad”; even though I had (25) selected them in a low place (?). I will do <...> you, my brother Shai, for wool I have sent. I have 40 and 15 on it. If you want it then take it for yourself. Or, if you want, give it to Heni to cut and send it (30) ... pay her. Also, I am having another one brought for you. There are three traps (?) of fish and forty pairs of ... in it. I have given it to (or ‘paid’?) Chares ...

After (all that), I greet you (fem.) and my children. (35) Truly, we did not receive these (things) from you (pl.). ... if yes, and you (fem.) give to her the half that remains, let her cut it also (and) send it. I will have it brought ... (I?) greet my son ... (40) Write to me about the ... Tiberi has hung it. These children ... They have no verdict. Live and be well (for a long time).

(tr) (It is) I, Chares. I greet you, my father ... and your children by their names. I received the cloth bag (45) from Pagosh, ... I am grateful to you. Anything you want (here, ask and) I will do it joyously. (v) I greet my mother Maria warmly. Pamour greets ... Speak to them, (50) so that they may give you (sg.)

some; and you send it to me. ... Do not neglect to send a blanket to me ... the item you (pl.) did not send ... (55) ... Pollon (60) ... make them for 2000. Indeed, they still have not taken them. I greet ...

### **Commentary:**

Address: Interestingly, it seems that Pagosh's name is given in the Coptic form. There are a number of bilingual addresses in the archive; see particularly **103** (again Coptic π€δωω in an otherwise Greek formula), **82** (likewise with λωϊωλῖ), and perhaps P. Kellis I Gr. 67 (Lysimachos in Syriac script, but probably the lost remainder of the address was in Greek).

22 4700: I.e. the payment (in talents); similarly the 2000 in ll. 62-63.

25 The real cause of the dispute is not very clear. It seems that wool Pagosh has supplied has been rejected as of poor quality, which of course he denies. The word δαν (CD 819b) would imply a valley rather than on the heights, and perhaps Pagosh's meaning is that it has come from well-fed sheep. But this seems rather far-fetched, and a derivation somehow from δνον 'be soft' or 'smooth' (CD 821ab) could make better sense.

There seems to be an omission of the object after  $\bar{\rho}$ -; or else { $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ } needs to be deleted, to read  $\dagger\eta\lambda\{\}\tau\alpha\kappa$  'I will make you pay'.

26 Shai: Possibly this is Theognostos / Louishai, who often appears with Heni (see the following lines). However, the name is common.

30 Perhaps 'another one' means another shipment of goods.

31 λΑΒΗC: The word is used here and in two other of Pagosh's letters (**78**, 43 and **79**, 41), in every instance for a certain quantity of fish. See also **109**, 34. The term contrasts with the more generic ωΑΤC 'portion' (e.g. **66**, 44, 45 and **110**, 49). We suggest that it may be for λαβίς (LSJ 1021a), and give this translation of 'trap' following the usage in CD 277a (παω and λαβή). An alternative would be to understand λέβης, a 'kettle' or 'pot'; another is ἀλάβης (LSJ 59b and CD 148b s.v. λειγι), which is a kind of Nile fish. One should also note that in P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 49 is found the term κυθρίδιον; i.e. 'a small pot of fish'. Presumably the fish were packed in salt or pickled in brine.

33 CЄΡ ΠΙ ΠЄΤΝΑΙΩΗ: This line of text is mostly incomprehensible to us. The scribe may be thought to suggest a word break around the letters CЄΡ, so one might read this

section as for  $\text{C}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\ \text{I}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  ‘and they will do this’. Note the strange stroke at the top of the  $\text{-}\epsilon$  immediately prior to this. Then, before the final  $\text{-}\mu$  of the line it looks like a  $\text{-}\lambda$ - has been corrected to  $\text{-}\omega$ - (though this could be interpreted in other ways), and there is a slightly odd superlinear stroke that may be intended to indicate the correct reading; but the various possible combinations of letters suggest nothing sensible. If one ignored these final two letters as a garbled attempt to start the  $[\text{M}\bar{\eta}]\bar{\eta}\text{C}\omega[\text{C}]$  that follows in l. 34, then  $\text{I}\epsilon\text{T}\eta\lambda\bar{\iota}$  could be read as ‘the one who will come’.

36-38 It seems that Pagosh has returned to his earlier thoughts about the wool, especially the option of giving it to Heni to cut (l. 29). This afterthought breaks up the greetings he has started in l. 34, and which now continue in l. 39.

40-42 Pagosh’s final comments here look intriguing, but there is not enough of the text remaining to understand the content. The name ‘Tiberi’ will be for Tiberios.

44 Although the reading is not entirely clear, we think that this postscript is by Chares (i.e. Charis, fem.). This might imply that she is Pagosh’s wife (and that our suppositions about him being married to Partheni are wrong). But the whole section is poorly preserved and it would be hasty to build too much on this. In (the following) 77 Pamour and Maria add their greetings to the letter. Perhaps the same is true here; the greeting to ‘mother Maria’ in l. 47 is reminiscent of letters by them, and that line may well continue ‘Pamour greets N.N.’. Other evidence we have suggests that Chares is the wife of Philammon; see the note at 66, 46, and further 80-82.

46 ‘Anything you want (here), ask and I will do it joyously’. This formulaic phrase can be supposed from the parallels. See 35, 48 and 36, 37-39 (both by Ouales):  $\text{z}\omega\beta\ \epsilon\text{K}\text{O}\gamma\lambda\omega\psi\ \bar{\eta}\eta\mu\alpha\ \text{K}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \eta\eta\bar{\iota}\ \dagger\eta\lambda\epsilon\psi\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ . For the Greek counterpart see e.g. P. Kellis I Gr. 7, 18-19; 66, 11-12; 69, 9-10.

47 See the note to 65, 39-41 on greetings to ‘mother Maria’. Here, in this present text, we think that the line must continue with ‘Pamour greets N.N.’. In that case, one might wonder whether the writer greeting ‘mother Maria’ is Pamour’s wife (the younger) Maria; but, as noted in the previous discussion referred to above, she never names her own mother. Thus, it is more probable that the speaker here is still Chares. Furthermore, if Pamour does send his greetings, then it means he is with Pagosh (as e.g. he is in 77). It is for this reason that we have not suggested that his name be read in l. 44 where Chares

greeted 'my father Pam-'. (Of course, it is conceivable that what follows 'father' may not be a name at all; but rather ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ or suchlike).

### **P. Kellis Copt. 77**

**Inv #:** P 81F/1 + P 68D

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposits 3 + 4.

**Preservation:** A substantial letter written in Coptic on papyrus. Whilst it has been reconstructed to be mostly complete, (only the lower right hand corner is entirely missing), it has broken along the horizontal folds so that the upper and lower quarters are now detached. Indeed, the upper portion evidences a different preservation context to the remainder, being distinctly darker and more abraded. Otherwise, the script (although somewhat untidy in appearance) is quite well preserved and able to be read with confidence.

**Content:** Pekysis (i.e. Pegosh) writes from Aphrodite to Kapitón, who is probably his brother-in-law. On this see especially P. Kellis I Gr. 76, at the time of which document it appears that Kapitón and his wife have separated. There Pekysis expresses some antipathy to the man. He also states that Kapitón has been living in Egypt, i.e. the Nile valley; and claims that he does not know if he is still alive. That document is not dated, but in P. Kellis I Gr. 45 we have a loan of money from 386 C.E. made to an Aurelius Kapitón son of Kapitón. The name (sometimes as Kapitou) occurs quite frequently in the letters of the Pamour family, and in general we suppose that they refer to this brother-in-law. Our hypothesis is that the Aurelius Kapitón of 386 C.E., who is said to be from the village of Kellis and residing in the Mothite nome, is the son of Pegosh's brother-in-law. We suppose this because the date is near the end of the period of documentation from Kellis, and the Kapitón of P. Kellis I Gr. 76 is said to have been living for some time in the valley.

In the present Coptic piece, (as in a number of other documents in this volume), Kapiton is clearly still living with his wife (the sister of Pegosh and Pamour). He and his family are warmly greeted. We think that they are in Kellis, especially as - at the end of the letter - Pamour and Maria add their own greetings; the latter to her mother (i.e. the elder Maria) and daughter (i.e. Jemnoute). In sum, we can date this piece to a somewhat earlier year (probably in the 360s - 370s). It provides important evidence that Pegosh and Pamour are in Aphrodite, and support for our reconstruction of the family and their lives.

### Address:

verso

κυρίῳ ἀδελφῶ Χ Καπίτωνι Πεκῦσις  
ἀπὸ Ἀφροδείτης

To master brother X Kapiton. Pekysis, from Aphrodite.

**Names:** Asklepi; Harpia; Kapiton; Lammon; Maria; Pakous; Pamour; Pekysis; Philammon; Pshai; Shai; Titoue; -isima (?);

### Text:

- 1 τῷ κ[υρίῳ] μου/ τῆς ψυχῆς Καπ[ίτωνι]
- 2 Πεκῦσ[ις] ὁ ἀδελφός/ σου/ ἐν κ[υρίῳ] χαίρ[ειν]
- 3 ραθη ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] νιμ ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ε[ρ]ακ τονογ ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ν[ε]κ[ι]
- 4 ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ε[ρ]ακ ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] τρεογῆ τηρ[ε] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] τ[ο]
- 5 νογ ἀπακαῖ καπιτων ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] τ[ε]ρ[ε]ρ[ε] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] [νεκ]
- 6 ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἀπαἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] λαμμῶν ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] . . . [ . . . ]
- 7 . . . ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] πμαρ[ε] [ . ] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] . . . [ . . . ]
- 8 . . . . . ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] . . . [ . . . ]
- 9 ἀἰχι τε[κ]επ[ι]στ[ο]λη δε ἀἰρεσε τονογ σε ἀἰῆ
- 10 με ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἀπκογχεῖτε ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] πογχεῖτε ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι]
- 11 πῆι τηρ[ε] χῆτ[ε] ἀἰκῆτηνε ἀβαλ ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἐπι
- 12 στολη ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] τεῖ ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] πακογς εἰετβε εγ
- 13 ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] εἰετβε ρωβ νιμ ἀ παμογρ γαρ
- 14 χος ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] σε μαχι ἡ[ρ]ωβ[ι] μπεῖλαγνε σε ἀγτωψ

- 15 α† ΤΚΟΥΪ ΧΕ ΔΥΕ[Ι] ΖΙΡΕΤ̄ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ Δ Ζ̄ΝΚΕ  
 16 ΝΟΜΟΣ ΩΩΠ[Ε Ν̄Ν]ΙΖΟΥΥ ΕΙΕ ΤΕΣ ΕΙΕΤΒΕ ΕΥ  
 17 ΜΠ̄ΚΣΖΕΪ ΝΗΪ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΣ . ΟΚ Ν†ΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΪΔΥ  
 18 ΝΕ ΧΕ ΑΚΤΕΥ ΝΕΥ Ζ̄Ν ΜΠΕ ΕΥΜΗΖ ΝΧΗΔΕ  
 19 ΧΕ Ο Ρ̄ ΝΣΩΪ ΧΕ ΜΠΙΧΙ Μ̄Ν ΤΧΛ̄ΔΕ ΝΑ  
 20 ΣΚΛΗΠΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΦΩΒ ΝΖΑΠΙΑ ΧΕ Ο ΜΠΕ  
 21 Τ̄ΝΣΖΕΪ ΝΗΪ ΧΕ ΑΤ̄ΝΧΙ ΛΑΥΕ ΝΤΟΤ̄ Ζ̄Ν  
 22 ΜΠΕ ΧΕ ΠΑΧΕ ΠΩΤ ΨΑΪ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΑΜΠΕ  
 23 ΟΥΔΑΣ ΠΑΧΕΤΗΝΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΑΜΠΕ ΧΟΣ ΝΕΣ  
 24 ΧΕ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΝΕΪ Ρ̄ ΕΝΕ ΕΙΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ  
 25 [...] . . . . . vac ΕΙΧΤΕ Τ̄Ν̄Μ!  
 26 ΨΕ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΝΕΡΗΟΥ ΝΔ[ . . . . . ]  
 27 ΑΤ̄ΝΝΑΔ ΟΥΛΕΠΣΕ Ν[ . . . . . ]  
 28 ΜΠΩΤ ΦΙΛΑΜΜΩ[Ν . . . . . ]  
 29 ΠΨΑΪ ΧΟΣ Ν̄ΚΑ[ΠΙΤΩΝ . . . . . ]  
 30 Ν̄ΝΙΖΟΥΥ ΔΝΕΥ [ . . . . . ]  
 31 Ν̄ΔΜΚΕΜΕΚ Ν[ . . . . . ]  
 32 Π̄ΒΕΚΕ ΝΑ . [ . . . . . ]  
 33 ΔΕ ΔΪΤΕΣ Ν[ . . . . . ]  
 34 . ΕΥΣΑΪΩ . [ . . . . . ]  
 vac  
 tr35 ΠΑΜΟΥΡ ΨΙΝΕ ΔΡΩΤΝΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΥΖΙΜΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΨΙΝΕ ΑΤ̄ΣΜΟ Μ̄Ν  
 36 Τ̄ΣΨΕΡΕ ΔΝΕ ΠΑΡ̄ΤΑΒ ΣΝΟ Ν̄ΝΟΥΒΣ ΖΩΣ ΕΥΜΑΤΝΕ Ν̄ΤΕΤΝΤΗΝΑΥΣΟΥ ΝΗΪ

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10 ΠΟΥΧΕΪΤΕ: -χ- ex -ī- corr. 33 ΔΪΤΕΣ: -ς ex corr. 35 ΔΡΩΤΝΕ: -ω- ex corr. 36  
 Τ̄ΣΨΕΡΕ: Τ̄Σ- ex Ν̄Σ- corr.

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To the master of my soul, Kapiton; (from) Pekysis your brother, in the Lord; - greetings.

Before everything: I greet you (sg.) warmly and your children together with the whole neighbourhood. Greet for me warmly (5) my brother Kapiton and his wife and his children. Greet for me my son Lammon and ... -esima (?) and Pshai the ...-filler (?) ...



So, I have received your letter. I rejoiced greatly, for I (10) learned from it about your health, and the health of the entire household. Since I left you (pl.), I did not receive any letter, - except this one from Pakous. Then why did you not write to me about everything? For Pamour told me that Titoue from Peiaune says they have determined (15) to sell the girl, because they have come for her (?). Now, if some other laws come about these days, then sell her. Then why did you not write to me about ... of Titoue from Peiaune, whether you sold it to him or not, full of dye? For what? Be after me, for I did not receive (it?) with the cloth bag from (20) Asklepi.

Concerning the matter of Hapia: Why did you not write to me whether you received anything from her or not? For father Shai says: "A year and a half". You say: "One year". Tell her, that if these (terms) please you (fem.), then let them be (25) ... Look, are we fighting with one another ... to send a small amount of ... father Philammon ... Pshai. Tell (?) Kapiton ... (30) these days. Look (?) ... consideration (?) ... your wage ... I gave her to ...

(tr 35) Pamour greets you, and his wife and his children. Maria greets her mother and her daughter. Bring my two *artabs* of jujubes as long as they are settled (?), and send them to me.

### Commentary:

1 This is the only instance in the archive of what may seem to the modern reader a rather extravagant phrase: 'To the master of my soul ...'. However, there are examples from elsewhere (e.g. SPP 20 111 τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῆς ψυχῆς).

4-5 It may be thought strange that Pekysis has first written to Kapiton with greetings in Greek (ll. 1-2), then in Coptic greeted 'you and your children' (ll. 3-4), and now again greets Kapiton and his wife and children. Whilst a bilingual duplication is understandable, the third occasion with its 'greet for me' phrasing may indicate one of the following: (a) there are two Kapitons (see P. Kellis I Gr. 45); (b) in the second instance, i.e. the first Coptic greeting, Pekysis is in fact formally addressing the patriarch of the family (perhaps father Pshai) before turning to his true recipient (compare the start to 75); (c) the third instance reflects Pekysis' oral instruction to his scribe: 'Greet for me my brother Kapiton ...'. For the latter option compare e.g. 71, 32 ('Tell Partheni') and possibly l. 29 in the present letter ('Tell Kapiton' [?]).

7 . . . 𐩨𐩢𐩨𐩠: Perhaps this is not the ending of a name (-isima), but rather a poorly formed or garbled rendering of τῷ C21MЄ 'his wife'.

πμαϷϫ[ . ]ϫ: or πμαϷϫ[ . . ]ϫ. If this is a description of Pshai's occupation as a 'filler (μαϷ- cf. CD 210a)' of something, then the following noun can only be ϫ[ω]ϫ 'cake' or ϫ[ρα]ϫ 'seed'. The latter might be possible, but it still seems unlikely. Alternatively, one could read it as the start of a new sentence: 'The place (πμα) is ...' (e.g. 71, 30 note ad loc.). But this is also improbable, not only from context but also for the difficulty of starting a verb with Ϸϫ-.

11 We suggest to take the verbal κῆτ// λβαλ as belonging to a hitherto unattested verb \*κινε (less likely \*κων) related to Bohairic κην; and meaning 'cease for', 'fail' or 'leave'. See also 116, 3 and 122, 21.

12, 16 ειετβε: Perhaps this is the writer's form of ετβε when it is used for questioning. Possibly (but not clear) coalesced from ειε (interrogative) + (ε)τβε.

14 Peiaune seems most likely to be a toponym, although one could understand it as patronymic. See again at ll. 17f.; also 110, 50 (Peouaune). It may be worth noting P. Lond. 4 1420, 172, where there is a τόπος named Παιονε. There is also a Paione[ in no. 1419). Both documents are from Aphroditopolites, although much later (VIIIth century).

15 From what follows it appears that some regulations are preventing them doing what they would wish, which apparently is to 'sell the girl' (understanding this as the meaning of † τκογι); but the force of ϫγε[ι] Ϸρετϫ, lit. 'they have come towards her', escapes us.

17 πϫ . οϫ: We can make no sense of this. The final letter may have been corrected. The general context of the sentence suggests that it must be a container of some sort (used for dye).

18 ϷN- in this function (question with alternative) is no doubt related to the regular form ϷN- in dialect A (as in Ϸῆ ἠμᾶν 'or not' Lk. 12:41 A ed. Lefort; cf. also *Epist. Apost.* 19, 15), which the etymological dictionaries list along with ωᾶN- B (as in ωᾶN ἠμῶN), whereas the normal ϫN- of the other dialects remains without etymology. But there may also be a phonetic background since the spelling ϷN- is also twice found in A as a variant of ϫN(η)- 'since' (cf. G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias*, 64). Also at l. 21f. and in 78, 50.

19      $\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\omega}$ ī: We have translated this as: ‘Be after me, ...’. Perhaps the meaning is that ‘your claim is secondary to mine’.

20     For Hapia (probably the same as Apia) see also **108**, 20. Note that the latter letter is sent from Pshai to Pegosh. It also refers to a Kapiton (spelt Kapidon) and a Philammon. These are, almost certainly, the same group of characters.

29     The imperative is not certain, but ‘Pshai told Kapiton’ seems even stranger in a letter addressed to Kapiton. See also the note to ll. 4-5. Of course, our restoration of Kapiton’s name here is also by no means assured.

31     The reading seems clear enough, but the meaning is entirely obscure.

35     Whilst the letters are not entirely clear, if our transcription is correct then we must suppose either a scribal error to read: ‘Pamour greets you and your wife and your children’; or otherwise understand: ‘Pamour greets you (as do) his wife and his children’.

36      $\tau\bar{\epsilon}\omega\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ :  $\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ - ex  $\eta\bar{\epsilon}$ - corr. One might more naturally suppose (see the photograph) that the plural was intended, but we think that it must be the singular (i.e.  $\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ -) following Maria’s common practice. See further **65**, 39-41 note ad loc.

$\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon$ : The use of this verb (CD 195b-196a) in this context seems rather odd, though perhaps it is something to do with the process of treating the jujubes. Alternatively, the verb might be taken as referring to persons, i.e. ‘as agreed’; or even in the sense of relieving a debt, i.e. ‘as settlement’.

### P. Kellis Copt. 78

**Inv #:** P 92.19 + P 92.22

**Location:** House 3, room 11, deposits 3 + 4.

**Preservation:** This is a virtually complete and well-preserved papyrus letter of 268 x 64 mm. It is beginning to break along the folds; and it has been possible to add one small fragment (from P 92.22), in order to help restore the upper right hand strip that is now in the process of disintegrating. N.B. In 2007 the glass frame was found to be broken and the letter was placed with P 91B (= **117**).

The letter is written in a fine and practised hand that shows little variation between the opening in Greek and the majority of the letter in Coptic. Probably the whole was written by the one, bilingual scribe. Note that the name of Pshai is given in its Greek form in l. 14.

**Content:** The letter is addressed from Pekysis to a father Horos. It is closely related to the following piece (79), where are again to be found many of these persons, including both sender and recipient. Since we believe the author to be that same Pegosh, brother of Pamour, as in the other letters of this group, Hor can not be his biological father (who is called Pshai). This Hor is probably also the recipient (together with Theognostos) of the three letters by Philammon (80-82), and also no. 30 written by Lysimachos. However, we do not know if he is the same as that Hor to whom Orion writes (15-17). There were certainly multiple people with this common name (as is clear from P. Kellis I, and see e.g. no. 72 in that volume). In short, it is difficult to place the recipient of this letter; except that he was obviously a senior member of the extended family for Pegosh, and a close associate of Theognostos, Lysimachos and Philammon.

The above reconstruction, despite its lack of a clear conclusion, certainly situates Hor firmly in Manichaean circles. It is noticeable in this present letter (and in the following) that Pekysis begins with a short form of what we have argued is a characteristic Manichaean prayer (see 65, 7-15 and note ad loc.). We also note that in both 78 (ll. 16ff.) and 79 (ll. 12 ff.) Pekysis begins with discussion of rolls of papyrus and their expense. The latter parts of both letters are then concerned with other commodities, especially the textile trade that is so central to this archive. These pieces should certainly be read together with those in the following group by Philammon. They are all written in the Nile valley, but presumably sent to Kellis.

**Address:**

verso

τῶι κυρίῳ μου καὶ τιμιωτάτῳ Χ πατρὶ Ὡρωι Πεκῦσις

To my master and most honoured X father Horos. (From) Pekysis.

**Names:** Andreas, (son) of Tone; Antinou; Horos; Lammon; Papnoute; Pauese; Pekysis; Philammon; Psais / Pshai; Shai, (son) of Troupthane; Tagoshe; Theognostos;

**Text:**

- 1 τῶι κυρίῳ μου
- 2 πατρὶ Ὡρωι
- 3 Πεκῦσις ἐν κ(υρί)ῳι χαίρειν
- 4 ραθη μεν ἄρωβ νιμ
- 5 †ϰρῆ† †ωινε ἀρακ το
- 6 νογ †ωληλ· ἀπνουτε
- 7 χεφναραῖς ἀρακ ἐκογ
- 8 ἀχ ἄσχυ νιμ ρῆ πεκ
- 9 σωμα τεκ†γχη μῆ
- 10 πεκπνευμα φα†νο
- 11 ἀρακ ἄκεσαπ· τα παρεωε
- 12 σωκ· ἀβαλ· ωινε ἤ[η]ῖ ἀ
- 13 πασαν θεογνωστο[ς] ἄν
- 14 πασαν †αῖς μῆ πκογ[ῖ] ἄν
- 15 τεφμο μῆ νεφσνηγ εγ
- 16 σαπ κατα πογρεν ρακρῆῖ
- 17 δε νηῖ ετβε ἄχαρτης μῆ
- 18 τρεκχος χε ρῆαμελι ἄ
- 19 μαν ἀλλα ἀρογχηγ εγχω
- 20 γαρ ἄμας ρῆθ ἄποογ χε
- 21 μῆ†<ς>ναγς ἄωε ἄδῆδωρ
- 22 ἄταρινο χε ἄπεκκιν·
- 23 ἐκρῆῖ ἀῖφι φιλαμμων

- 24 αἴβωκ ἡπῆκα βεπιθε  
 25 ψατοϋ† πικαῖω ηηῖ  
 26 ρα ηητ᾽ ἡωε μῆ τεσε  
 27 ἡνογμικ ρακρζεῖ ηηῖ χε  
 28 χι πιμῆτη ἡωε ἡδῆδωρ  
 29 ἡτῆ παῦησε κτεῖτοϋ ηηῖ  
 30 ρα ογαν ἡπερ† παχερ  
 31 χε †να† εν εῖωανῆ  
 32 με ναμηε ετβε πνοϋβ᾽  
 33 χε ἡνογμηε πε πκαῖτ  
 34 ετοϋσωρ ἡμαρ †νακρζεῖ  
 35 ηητῆ η ἡμαν α πῖωτ ψαῖ  
 36 ἡτροϋφᾶηη ἡηϋ βαλ ἡ  
 37 ηιρσοϋ εωωπε τετῆ  
 38 οϋωϋ οϋωρπ τρζιμε  
 39 ψαραῖ ἡῖα τῆναγс  
 tr40 ἡπετῆρζωβ᾽ . . . . . κ ἡπῆωταρτρ᾽ χι πκαῖω ἡχαρτης ἡτῆ πσαν ἀητινοϋ  
 v41 χι †λε†ε ἡκαρτ᾽ ἡτοτρ ἡανδρεαс ἡτφνε οϋν μαβ ἡῆ  
 42 Μ/ΜΝΑ/ ψατῆ οϋε σαειρε ἡκαωβε ἡκαρτ [[ . ]]ῆη μελανιον  
 43 сνεϋ ἡρηтс ἡῆ †οϋ λαβηс ἡτηвт᾽ ἡῆ καλατοϋс сνεϋ  
 44 [[ . ]]ε ταδωε νεπιδ᾽ λαμμων αβαλ ἡπῆηητ ἡμμνα  
 45 πμαλιμμε τετῆογачοϋ ηηῖ <ῆ>στιχα εϋρωεϋ τετῆ  
 46 τῆναγсε ηηῖ таχϋ ἡπῆωτρ᾽τρ᾽τηне ατῆηαϋ ωβων  
 47 ηηη ἡтак βε πασαν πωαῖ ριρβ πῖωт нек ἀηροϋ ετβε саῖω  
 48 сνεϋ ἡρμαс εωωπε ογαν ωοп τῆναγсε᾽ ἀηак  
 49 παπποϋτε †ωηне ἀρωτῆ тоηοϋ μαρε ταδωε ρζεῖ  
 50 χε ἡсχι πηοηиcмaтiοη ρῆ ἡπε

36 ΤΡΟΥΦΑΗΗ: -ΑΗΗ smudged 41-42 ἡ|Μ/ΜΝΑ/ sic (one M too many) 44 ΝΕΠΙΔ᾽: -π- smudged 48 сνεϋ: C- smudged εωωπε ογαν sic, haplology for εωωπε οϋῆ ογαν (common in dialects B and M, cf. Polotsky, *Grundlagen* I, 69 n. 17)

To my master (and) father Horos; (from) Pekysis, in the Lord; - greetings.

Before everything (5) I write and greet you warmly. I pray to God that he will keep you healthy at all times in your body, your soul and (10) your spirit; until I see you again and my joy is complete. Greet for me my brother Theognostos and my brother Psais, and the little one and (15) his mother and his brothers all together by name.

Now, you (sg.) have written to me about the papyrus rolls. Do not say that I have been negligent, by no means; but they are expensive! For they have been quoting (20) it - till today - at 1200 talents. When I saw that you did not stop writing (about the papyrus), I took Philammon and went. We did not allow any other inducement (25) until they gave me this pair for 1000 (talents) and 16 *nummi*.

You (also) wrote to me: "Take these 1500 talents from Pauese and give them to me (30) for someone". (But) he did not pay. He said: "I will not pay (un)less I receive true information about the gold (i.e. *solidi*), that is to say, whether the reputed quality which they circulate is true. I will write (35) to you (if this is the case) or not".

Father Shai (son) of Troupbane is coming out these days. If you (pl.) want to send the woman to me, then send (a message?). (tr 40) You did not send ... Do not worry. Take the pair of papyrus rolls from brother Antinou. (v) Take this small amount of wool from Andreas, (son) of Tone. There are 30 *mna* less one. It can make seven (lots) of wool; and two small inks there, and five traps of fish and two baskets. (Let) Tagoshe settle (with) Lammon for his 10 *mna* (45) ... and you cut them for me (into) a good *sticharion*, and send them quickly. Do not bother yourselves to send me cereal. Now, you, my brother Pshai: I sent the barley for you. What are we doing about (the) two pairs of clothes? If any are available, send them.

(It is) I, Papnoute. I greet you (pl.) warmly. Let Tagoshe write whether she receives the *nomismation* or not.

### Commentary:

11-12 ‘.. and my joy is (or: ‘will be’) complete’ (τα / ἢτε παρεψε χωκ δβαλλ): Cf. IJn. 1: 4, 2Jn 12. The use of the phrase (also **15**, 37-38; **36**, 26; **42**, 13; **82**, 8; **115**, 5) could be supposed a commonplace, but we think that its repeated occurrence may be a specific stylistic element most likely derived from Mani’s *Epistles* (which themselves re-used sentiments found in the New Testament). It is one of a number of phrases that recur in

particular sets of letters (e.g. those of Orion and Ouales); another example might be the use of † ⲡⲧⲁⲛ, cf. **115**, 40-41 note ad loc.

19 ⲁⲣⲟϥϫⲏϥ: We understand an unusual form of the second present. Probably ⲁⲣⲟϥϣⲓⲧⲉ at **11**, 22 is the same. The text, translation and accompanying note there should consequently be revised, and read: ‘... your share, for they demand ...’.

20 ρⲓⲑⲏ ⲡⲡⲟⲟϥ: The use of this preposition (here as ‘before’?) appears somewhat odd in the context. Does he mean that until today this was the price, but it has now gone up; or simply that this was the price when he last asked?

22-23 For the phraseology of neg. ⲕⲓⲙ + circumstantial to mean ‘not cease to ..’, see CD 108b (Sah. N.T. only Acts 5: 42, but cf. *1Keph.* 347, 13, 14; 372, 9).

24 ϥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉ: As written here, this can only be the object noun phrase depending on ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲕⲁ- ‘(no) other persuading / persuasion’. Note that ⲡⲓⲑⲉ is the only infinitive of Greek origin to be found nominalised (as ‘persuasion’) in several corpuses of Coptic. Alternatively, but much less likely in the context, ϥⲉ could be taken as absolute ‘(not) anything else’, in which case ⲡⲓⲑⲉ would have to be an imperative: ‘Believe (it) / Be persuaded until they give me ...’.

25 ⲡⲓϥⲁⲓⲱ: This term is used here for purchasing a quantity of papyrus (see also l. 40); presumably it is for two papyrus rolls. See further R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*, Atlanta, 1985: 68; judging by the texts cited there prices seem to have been calculated on the basis of rolls.

26-27 (Lit.) ‘.. for ten hundred and sixteen *nummi*’: The meaning can scarcely be ‘1016 *nummi*’. Rather, Pekysis first refers to units of account (i.e. 1000 talents, a substantial discount on the quoted price of 1200), and then to the physical coins. Compare the similar issue at **44**, 31; and see further e.g. O. Douch 1 54.

27-35 It is difficult to understand the matter of the payment via Pauese, as a number of things seem to be taken as understood and some terms have a rather broad lexical range. Our interpretation is that it is about Pauese wanting to wait until he really knows the value of the coins. At the end, Pekysis seems to imply that he will write again if it continues to be an issue; but if it is resolved he will not. However, we may be misunderstanding it.



35-36 ΠΩΤ ΩΑΙ ΠΤΡΟΥΦΑΝΗ: There are a number of variations on this name in the archive, both in Greek and Coptic. It remains rather unclear as to whether one should understand a patronymic ('son of Troughane') or some kind of alias. See the discussions by Worp in P. Kellis I p. 188 and by ourselves in P. Kellis V pp. 48f. (this includes what is now seen to be an incorrect interpretation of the present text, i.e. that his 'coming forth' would refer to his death). It is apparent that 'Shai' is equivalent here to 'Psais', and virtually certain that we are dealing with the same person as in P. Kellis I Gr. 71 and 73. Furthermore, his appearance as a subscriber to the official document no. 24 in that volume gives us a firm date of 352 C.E. for his lifetime. He also occurs there in the Greek text no. 50; on the other side of which is found a Coptic letter published here as **112**.

37 ΝΙΖΟΥ: Does this mean that Shai will come soon ('(one of) these days'), or that he is coming out regularly? Presumably the journey is that between the Oasis and the valley.

38-40 Pekysis employs three separate verbs (ΟΥΩΠΙ, ΤΠΝΔΥ and ΩΩΒ), all of which we translate as 'send'. Elsewhere, there is also found ΧΔΥ. The first term is rather rare in southern dialects, certainly in *L*. A systematic study is probably warranted in order to discern the range of usages; but the distinctions are by no means obvious.

41 This 'Tone' may well be the same as the 'Toni' of **112**, 21; the two letters being connected through the figure of Shai son of Troughane (as explained *supra* in the note to ll. 35-36).

42-43 ... ΜΕΛΛΝΙΟΝ ΟΝΕΥ ΠΖΗΤΟ ΜΠ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΒΗΟ ΠΤΗΒΤ: Pekysis says almost exactly the same in **79**, 41, except that there it reads simply ΜΕΛΛ ΟΝΟ. We suppose that in both instances he is referring to ink, or conceivably a more generic black dye for wool; cf. LSJ 1095a. Nevertheless, the combination of commodities is rather bizarre.

43 ΛΑΒΗΟ: see **76**, 31 note ad loc.

ΚΑΔΑΤΟΥΟ: We think that this must be κόλαθος, a basket 'narrow at the base' and especially used for wool (LSJ 865a).

45 ΠΜΔΛΙΜΜΕ: The reading is clear enough, but we can suggest no interpretation other than that ΜΜΕ could be the verb 'to understand'. Possibly it is some kind of aside

about Tagoshe's debt. The meaning of the final sentence about Tagoshe is equally obscure (ll. 49-50).

45-46 Compare Pegosh's very similar wording at **75**, 14-17.

47 Ⲙⲁⲓⲱ: Again there is the issue as to what sort of quantity this means (see *supra* l. 25 and note).

48 ⲁⲙⲁⲘ: This is probably a variant form of ⲁⲙⲁⲘ, 'linen' (CD 659b-660a).

### **P. Kellis Copt. 79**

**Inv #:** P 92.35G(i) + P 92.22

**Location:** House 3, room 11, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** This is a large and mostly complete letter (as reconstructed), written in Coptic on papyrus. It has broken along the main vertical fold; and a few small sections have been lost. One fragment was able to be added from P 92.22. The address seems to have been written by a different scribe, which hand (especially with the extravagant upward diagonal on the epsilon) should be compared to that of **85** and **86**. The principal scribe (i.e. who wrote the letter itself) evidences a competent and practised, but somewhat plainer, style.

There appear to be further ink traces on the verso below l. 45 and to the left; but, as they are not aligned with what has come before, we are in some doubt as to whether they really represent additional text to this letter. In any case, no words can be read.

**Content:** This letter is closely related to the previous one in terms of the persons involved, the context and content of the letter; and even the find site. In fact, it must have been written at about the same time; so much so, that one wonders if the two documents duplicate identical content. For instance, Pegosh is still explaining that he has not bought the papyrus, because it is so expensive. On the verso of **78** he talks about '30 less 1' *mna* of wool from Andreas, and something about another 10 for Lammon. Here in **79** (l. 38)

there is again the '30 less 1' *mna* of wool (but from Papnoute) and 10 for Lampou. Although Andreas is named in the first instance, one notes that Papnoute adds his greetings to that letter. And it does seem probable that Lammon and Lampou are the same person. Clearly, the two letters must be read together, and one may well help to explain the other. But the scribe here is different, for both the main text and the address; and it contrasts to the other letter in some aspects such as format (e.g. there is no introduction in Greek).

**Address:**

verso

τῶι δεσπότῃ μου Χ πατρὶ Ὁρωι

Πεκύσιος

To my master X father Horos. (From) Pekusios.

**Names:** Andreas; Antinou; Hor(os); Lampou (Lamou / Lammon?); Papnoute; Pegosh (Pekusios); Philammon (?); Pshai; Theognostos;

**Text:**

- 1 ΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΑΧΑΙΣ ΕΤΑΪΑΙΤ ΝΤΟΤ
- 2 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΡΕΝ ΖΑΛΔ
- 3 ΖΝ ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ ΗΖΑΤΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΙΩΤ
- 4 ΜΕΡΙΤ ΖΩΡ ΜΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΘΕΟΓΝΩ
- 5 ΣΤΟΣ ΜΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΩΑΙ ΜΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ
- 6 ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕΤΝΣΑΝ ΠΕΔΩΨ
- 7 ΠΕΤΣΖΕΪ ΕΤΨΙΝΕ ΑΡΑΤΨΝ ΖΝ ΠΧΑΪ[Σ]
- 8 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΑΪΡΕΙΝ vac ΖΑΘΗ Ν
- 9 ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΨΛΗΛ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΤΡΕΨ
- 10 ΡΑΪΣ ΑΡΑΚ ΝΟΥΝΑΔ {ΝΟΥΝΑΔ} ΝΟΥΑΨ
- 11 ΕΚΤΑΛΗΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ ΠΕΚ
- 12 ΠΝΑ ΜΝΝΣΑ ΝΕΪ ΔΝ ΨΣΖΕΙ ΝΕΚ ΕΞΕΙ
- 13 ΤΑΜΟ ΜΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΣΕΧΕ ΝΝΧΑΡ
- 14 ΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΨΑΜΕΛΙ ΕΝ ΕΜΠΙΤΝΝΑΨ

- 15       ϢΕ ΝΕΚ ΕΤΕ Ν̄ΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ΑΥϢΕ ΔΕ ΝΕΚ  
 16       †ΝΟΥ ΧΕ ϢΕΧΗϢ ΕΒΕΔΑΔΕΤΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥΤ  
 17       Τ̄Ν̄ΤΙ ΚΕϢΟΥΟϢΕ . [ . . . . . ] Ν̄ΜΑϢ  
 18       ΧΕ ΨΑΤΟΥΝ̄ΤΑ[Ν . . . . . ] ΕϢΕ† Ν̄  
 19       ΝΑΥ ΔΒΑΛ ΕΥΧΗϢ ΤΧΛΒΕ †ΑΥϢ Ν̄  
 20       ΨΕ ϢΑ ΠϢΑΙΨ ΕΟΥΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ †ΝΑ  
 21       Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥϢΕ ΝΕΚ Ν̄[ . . . . . ] ΠΙΩΤ  
 22       ΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΕΙ [ . . . . . ] ΕϢ Μ̄Ν ΠΕ  
 23       Τ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ϣ ϢΙΒ̄Ν Ο[Υ . . . . . ] ΕΡΕ Ν̄ΖΗ  
 24       Τ̄Ϣ Μ̄Ν ΧΟΥΤΕϢ[Ε] Ν̄ΝΟΥΜΟϢ Μ̄Ν  
 25       ΝΚΕϢΝΑΥΕ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ϣ ΠΕΤΑΚΧΟϢ  
 26       ΧΕ ΤΕΟΥ ΔΒΑΛ . . . ΕΒΕΙΝΑΧΑΥ  
 27       ϢΟΥ ΑΠΜΑΡΗϢ {ΜΜΑΥ} ϢΕΝΑΧΙΤΟΥ  
 28       ΕΝ ΜΠΙΜΑ ΔΕΙΧΙ ΠΡΗΨ Μ̄Ν Ν̄  
 29       ϢΑΙΤΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΒΙΧ Ν̄ΨΒΩΝ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ϣ  
 30       Ν̄ΤΑΚ ΔΕ ΠΑϢΑΝ ΠΨΑΙ ΔΚϢΕΙ  
 31       ΝΗΙ ΧΕ ΔΕΙΧΙ ΤϢΑΡΤ̄ ΔΚΧΟϢ ΧΕ Τ̄Ν̄  
 32       ΝΑΥ ΚΕ̄Μ̄Μ̄Α ϢΝΟ ΝΗΙ ΝΨΤΙΤ  
 33       ΕΙΕ Ν̄ΚϢΑΥΝΕ ΕΝ ΧΕ †ΝΑΔ̄Ν ϢΑΡΤ  
 34       ΕΝ Ν̄ΠΙΜΑ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΝΤΑΧΑΥ . . . \ . Ε . . / ΜΑ  
 35       ΡΗϢ Π̄ΝΟ Ν̄ΤΡΙΒ̄ΝΤϢ ΕΝΑΤ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥϢ  
 36       ΝΕΚ ΩΝΖ ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΧΕΙΤΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΝΑΔ  
 37                Ν̄ΟΥΑΨ ΚΑΤ[Δ] ΝΕΝΨΛΗΛ  
 38       ΧΙ ΠΜΑΒ̄ Ν̄Μ̄Μ̄ΝΑ Ν̄ϢΑΡΤ ΨΑΤ̄Ν̄ΟΥΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥΤ̄ Ν̄ΠΑΠ̄ΝΟΥΤΕ † ΜΗΤ ΝΗΙ Ν̄ΛΑΜΠΟΥ  
 39       †ΝΑΜ̄Δ̄Ϣ Ν̄ΤϢΖΗΜΕ Ν̄ΠΙΜΑ  
 39       ΚΑϢ ϢΑΤΠΟΥ ΝΕϢ ΤϢΕ ΕΤΕϢΝΕϢ Ν̄Π̄Ρ̄Ρ̄ΛΥΠΗ Ν̄ΜΑϢ ΧΕ †ΟΥΑΨ Ρ̄ ΕΝΕϢ ΤΟΝΟΥ  
 40       Ν̄ΠΩΡΧΝΟΥϢ ΑΖΗΜΕ ΨΙΝΕ ΑΡΑϢ  
 40                                       vac                                       ΤΟΝΟΥ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΕϢ . . . .  
 41       ΧΙ ΠΙΜΕΛΑ ϢΝΟ Μ̄Ν ΠΙ†ΟΥ Ν̄ΛΑΒΗϢ Ν̄Τ̄Β̄Τ ΟΥϢ  
 42       Ϣ̄Ν ΨΑΤ Ν̄ΤΑΚ ΔΕ ΠΑϢΑΝ ΠΨΑΙ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΚ  
 43       ΧΙ ΤΛΕΠϢΕ Ν̄ΧΗΔΕ ΕΙΕ Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥ . . . . .  
 44       ΤΚΕΛΕΠϢΕ Ν̄ΕΨ Ν̄ΖΕ ΤΑΤ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΑΥ[Ϣ ΝΕΚ] . . . [ΦΙΛΑΝ]

45 ΜΩΝ ΩΙΝΕ ΔΠΕΥΣΑΝ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΔ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΙΩΤ ΖΩΡ

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Address ὄρωι Pap. 7 ΔΡΑΤΩΝ: -ω- perhaps corrected; read ΔΡΩΤΝ 20 ΩΕ: ω- ex corr.;  
 ΕΟΥΚΑΛΛΑΜΩΝ: -κ- ex -γ- or -λ- corr? 23 ΖΙΣΝ: ζ- ex ι- corr.; final -η- ex corr. 34 ΕΙΜΗΤΙ:  
 ε- ex corr. 36 ΝΕΚ: -κ ex corr. 39 read (?) ΚΑΔ <Δ>ΣΑΤΠΟΥ (thus elsewhere); or is ΚΑΔ- as  
 a construct here grammaticalised (= ΤΡΕΥ-, = ΜΑΡΕΥ-)? 41 ΠΙΤΟΥ: π- ex τ- corr.

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(To) my father, my master who is honoured by me greatly, the one whose name is sweet in my mouth at every moment: My loved father Hor. Also my brother Theognostos, (5) and my brother Pshai and my brother Andreas. (It is) I, your (pl.) brother Pegosh, who writes greeting you in the Lord God; - greetings!

Before everything: I am praying to God that he can (10) watch over you for a long time, you rejoicing in your soul and your spirit. After these (things): Again I am writing to you, telling you about the matter of the papyrus rolls, that I will not neglect (to purchase them); though I have not sent (15) them to you. But, that is I did not send them to you now, for they are expensive. If I hold my hand (for a few more days?); so that, until they ease off ... they are selling them expensive.

The cloth bag: Buy it at (20) 100 for the pair (?). If there are any reeds (?), I will send them to you ... father Antinou to come ... and what is in it. I have found a ... in it, with 26 *nummi* and (25) the other items that are in it, which you said to sell ... I will send them south ... they will not take them here. I have received the blanket and the garments, and the handful (?) of cereal with it.

(30) So, you, my brother Pshai: You have written to me “I received the wool”. You said: “Send another two *mna* of warp”. Do you not know that I will not find wool here unless I send ... south. (35) When I can find it we will send it to you (sg.). Live and you (pl.) be well for a long time according to our prayers.

(tr) Take the 30 *mna* of wool, less one, from Papnoute. Give 10 for me to Lampou; I will clear his freight charge here. Let him select as he likes. Do not upset him, for I want to please him very much. Do not question him about (the) freight charge. Greet him (40) warmly and his ...

(v) Take these two inks and five traps of fish; one (is) with the cushion. And you, my brother Pshai: If you have received the small amount of dye, then send ... The other portion: How am I to send it [to you] ...? Philammon (?) greets his brother warmly; he and his father Hor.

**Commentary:**

16-17 Whilst it is not entirely clear what follows Pegosh's comment that the papyrus is expensive, one may compare the similar section in **78** where is also found a somewhat unusual construction with ριθη ἡπιου (l. 20). If one tries to think about what Pegosh's sense might be, probably he is saying that he wants to hold off buying for a few more days in the hope that the price will go down. Thus a literal meaning would be 'and we give another day', (τῆ-τι- Conjunctive).

20 πσαῖψ: Whether this word simply means a 'pair' in this context, or is used for some other kind of quantity (e.g. 'buy the cloth bags at 100 per bundle'), is uncertain. There is the same problem through **78**, in **81** and elsewhere. CD 374b does list the term separate to 'pair' as a measure.

21 We understand εΟΥΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ as ε- circ. + ΟΥ- for ΟΥΝ- + bare noun (instead of a preposition ε- + indef. art.). There are three arguments: (a) it can hardly be linked to the preceding clause but is needed as a protasis to the following; (b) the preposition ε- would normally be λ-; and (c) it seems to be resumed by the plural suffix -CE in †ΝΑΤῆΝΑΥCE and thus cannot be an explicit singular. For the omission of Ν in ΟΥ(Ν)-, cf. **33**, 15. In both cases, the omission occurs before velar / palatal /k/ or /c/, where the nasal probably became velarised and less apt for letter spelling (as the orthographical efforts around -ΓΚ- and ΝΓ- / ΝΚ- tend to show).

There are all sorts of possible meanings for κάλαμος ('reed'), cf. LSJ 865b-866a. However, presuming that Pegosh is here talking about the purchase of commodities for trade, there are basically two options: (a) 'reed(s)', whether as general material for thatching or whatever; or in the form of 'reed-pipes' (flutes); or even, most intriguingly, 'reed-pen'; (b) 'rod(s)', especially in the form of 'fishing-rod' or 'measuring-rod'.

21-22 Compare **78**, 40, 'brother Antinou'. One has a slight suspicion that the name could be geographical rather than personal (perhaps talking of some business partner in the city), as Antinoopolis features in a number of the letters (cf. e.g. P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 15-18 '.. not departing for Antinoopolis to transact pressing business with my brother Pekysis'; **116**, 11 ἡταϥβωκ δαντινοου); although obviously that should read πωτ or πσαν ἡαντινοου with a doubled omicron.

29 τδix: We have translated as ‘handful’; but probably the term is used here for a specific measure (cf. CD 840ab), like πcαiψ. The same phrase is found at **24**, 7. In Greek papyri one finds the term δέσμη ‘bundle’. The precise meaning of ωβωνι (some kind of cereal or herb?) is unclear; see also **19**, 41; **78**, 46; CD 553a.

38 χi πμαδ̄ ν̄ν̄μνα ν̄cαpт ωατ̄ν̄ογε ν̄τοτ̄q̄ ν̄παπ̄νογτε: Cf. **78**, 41-42 and **96**, 33.

Lampou: If we are correct in supposing that this is the same person as the Lammon of **78**, 44 (i.e. that in both instances Pegosh is referring to the same 10 *mna*), then there is a choice between treating it as some kind of nickname or supposing that Pegosh actually said ‘Lamou’ (whatever the scribe seems to have written). The latter option is probably more efficient; cf. the note to **66**, 42.

41 See **78**, 42-43 and note ad loc.

44-45 We have supposed that the final greeting may be by Philammon rather than Lammon; because we think that the Lampou of l. 38 is probably the same as the latter (see the note ad loc.), who therefore should not be in the valley with Pegosh. Also, it seems reasonable to suppose that it is Philammon who here sends his greetings to Theognostos and Hor, the same persons to whom he writes in the letters **80-82**. Thus this provides a very nice link to the pieces in the next section.

**LETTERS FROM PHILAMMON TO THEOGNOSTOS (LOUSHAI) AND HOR**

These three well-preserved letters form a coherent group. They are essentially a sub-set of the main Pamour and Pegosh archive, and many of the same characters reappear (such as Kapiton). Like the two brothers, Philammon is clearly in the Nile valley, writing back to Kellis in the Oasis. In each instance he addresses first Theognostos (who is alternatively called Louishai), and then afterwards Hor(os); later in the letters there may be added other greetings. The letters should be read together with two by Lysimachos, since this important person is an associate of Philammon's in the valley. We have one of his letters to Theognostos in Greek (P. Kellis I Gr. 67) and another to Hor in Coptic (30). Since Apa Lysimachos also occurs in the Makarios family letters of the first volume, we are here at the heart of matters regarding the House 3 'clan' and their associates.

From the Makarios group (see the summary in P. Kellis V pp. 38-39) we could deduce that Philammon was married to Charis, and that the couple were of Makarios' generation (and thus older than Pamour and Pegosh). In the following three letters there are no references to Charis; but she does appear in those of the two brothers (notably **64**, **66**, **70** and **76**). There are also no explicit references to Makarios and his family.<sup>12</sup> Our cautious explanation for the latter is that here Philammon is writing at a somewhat later period, current with the Pamour and Pegosh archive, when Makarios and his sons Matthaïos and Piene have either died or for whatever reasons are absent from the correspondence. The time-frame is probably the 360s or shortly after that.

Philammon is closely connected to Manichaeans such as Lysimachos and Ision, and more generally the whole extended family. Although he often uses pious expressions, none of

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<sup>12</sup> However, in **82**, 26-28 Philammon does greet 'my mother Gouria and my sister and her husband and her daughter'. Probably this is the same Kyria, wife of Pshem(p)noute (see the notes at P. Kellis V p. 29), who is close to Makarios' wife Maria (a sister by blood or marriage). One wishes Philammon had named the other persons there.



these are explicit about his faith (beyond Christian commonalities).<sup>13</sup> In the letters he discusses both family and business matters. As elsewhere in the archive, the actions of the family relative / associate Kapitón cause problems (e.g. P. Kellis I Gr. 76 and Worp's comments there). Travel between the Oasis and valley seems to be quite frequent; and the letters are often concerned with who is going where, and requests for items to be sent.

All the Philammon letters are of a very similar format, in a fluid and professional style. There are occasional Greek inflections (ΘΕΟΓΝΩΣΤΕ, ΧΑΙΡΕ); but only a minimum of Greek epistolary formulae such as addresses (even here the Coptic ⲕⲱⲓⲱⲁⲓ notably intrudes in **82**); ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ; once ἔρρ-. Document **82** evidences a hand of considerable proficiency and is similar to (though not the same as) that of **80**. The hand of **81** is somewhat plainer in appearance; but still very competent. The comparative dimensions of the three letters are: 274 x 103 mm.; 274 x 92 mm.; 276 x 76 mm.

We include here a translation of the particularly interesting letter P. Kellis I Gr. 67<sup>14</sup> by Lysimachos (whose name is given in Syriac script on the address) to Theognostos:

To my beloved son Theognostos, from [your father (?)], greetings in God. If your brother Psais is with you, take heed (concerning) your sobriety and ...

*(main text of the letter is lost)*

Greet all by name. Your brothers greet you. I pray that you are well in God, loved ones.

*(second hand)* Send a well-proportioned and nicely executed ten-page notebook for your brother Ision. For he has become a user of Greek and a Syriac reader. (tr) Let the son learn that ... before she was given (?).

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<sup>13</sup> Unless we count the expression or exclamation ΤΟΥΕΨΤΕ ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ (see **82**, 16) as a Manichaean 'marker'. Literally it means 'the service of God', but seems to be used simply as 'Praise God!' and to be characteristic of Manichaean authors. See the discussion in P. Kellis V p. 80.

<sup>14</sup> This translation is based on that of K.A. Worp, but follows the readings and suggestions in I. Gardner, 'P. Kellis I 67 revisited', *ZPE* 159, 2007: 223-228. Interesting issues, such as whether Ision was a Syriac *lector* in the Manichaean church, are further discussed there.

**P. Kellis Copt. 80****Inv #:** P 52G + P 51D**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** An extensive and virtually complete letter, written in Coptic. The papyrus is of good quality and appears to have had no previous use. The document has been reconstructed from eight fragments, and had dimensions of 274 x 103 mm., (with the centre fold at 137 mm., an upper margin of 10 mm.).

**Content:** Philammon writes to Theognostos, and secondly greets Hor. He has heard of misfortunes and sends words of comfort. It appears that Ision has travelled to the Oasis, and now Theognostos is to return with him to Philammon and other relatives or associates resident in the Nile valley. He is asked to bring some articles with him. Philammon conveys further greetings, and Plousiane adds a short note.

**Address:**

verso

κυρίωι μου ἀδελφῶι Χ Θεογνώστωι Φιλάμμων

To my master brother X Theognostos. (From) Philammon.

**Names:** Dorothea; Hor; Iena; Ision; Pamour; Papnoute; Pegosh; Philammon; Plousiane; Pshai; Ama Tapshai; Ama Tatou; Ama Theodora; Theognoste/os; Zosime;

**Text:**

- 1 πασαν παχαϊς παμεριτ̄ ἡψουγ
- 2 μεϊε πετμεϊε ἡμαδ ἡἡ παρητ̄
- 3 τηρῶ ἡἡ τατγχη τηρς θεογνωστε
- 4 ανακ πεκσαν φιλαμμων τψινε
- 5 αρακ τονου ἡἡ παχαϊς χαιρε
- 6 ἡαθη ἡἡωβ ἡἡ τψινε αρακ τονου

7 †ϞINE APACAN [2]ϞP' EY 6E ΠE†NACA2C  
 8 NHTE ETE ΠH[6 HΠ]ET2AY ETA2Ω  
 9 ΠE CACA Π2[HT HΠAM]OYR MH PE6Ω  
 10 MHTE PΩNE 6AM A[2]ϞB' ΠHOYTE PET'  
 11 CAUNE ATAYH ETE[2]H ΠA2HT' HTOTH  
 12 GAP PET'HP ACACΩA2 HMAN THCAUNE  
 13 XE AYHAC HΠET'2AY EI AXΩC AYΩ AN  
 14 COTME AN XE AT'2ΛΩ EI ABAL 2H CΩ  
 15 MA APA2HT' HKA2 CAC2 Π2HT' HH  
 16 KAYE 2WOY AN ETBHTC AIXOC AN H  
 17 PAIT' XE C2EI HCA PACAN PAXE C XE  
 18 AIOW EIC2[ε]I HTH IC]IWN XE EOXE  
 19 CΠHE EΦHAEI NEMEC †HOY EIC PACAN  
 20 ICION ACEI PAK HPHCΩ EMPK'  
 21 EI NEMEC TAPENNEY ANENEPHY XE  
 22 THCAUNE EN APBANBAL ETNAΩΠE  
 23 †HOY HΠOPKA PA2HT' EIMAX ANI TOY  
 24 HEIAC H2NO H2AMT' HTOTK' EKHNH  
 25 2H2ΩB NIM ANI TCA22E HPHRE NH MH  
 26 HKEKAYE ETE2N[ε]K TAPHXI POYHTAN  
 27 H2HT' 2ON ETBA NE[T]6AOT' ABAL 2HTK'  
 28 MH HNCAN ICION HINE ANENCNHY THPOY  
 29 KATA POYREN HINE APACAN PWA MH TACΩ  
 30 NE MH HAIAYE KATA POYREN CAC2 Π2HT' H  
 31 HNCAN PAΠHOYTE ETE ΠIΠET'2AY ETA2ΩΠE  
 32 NET'2AT[H]N THPOY HINE AK MALICTA ΠOYCIANE  
 33 PETAC22EI AEPICTOAN ZOCINE HINE AK  
 34 MH AMA ΘEOΩPA MH ΔPOΘEA MH AMA TA  
 35 TOY MH AMA TAPWA MH TEPERE MH NEC  
 36 HPE ET6AOT ABAL 2HTK' THPOY XEKATA2AOY  
 37 ON2 HKOYXEITE HOYHAC HOYAIΩ KATA NAWHΛ'

tr38    ΑΝΑΚ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΑΝΕ †ΩΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΣΑ[Ν] ΘΕΟΓΝΩΣΤΕ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΩΙΝΕ ΛΙΕΝΑ ΝΠΑΡΕΝ  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΠΡΕΝ ΝΠΕϞΣΑΝ ΖΩΣΙΜΕ  
 39       ΩΙΝΕ ΑΡΑϞ ΑΝ ΝΠΡΕΝ ΝΦΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ

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8 ΕΤΒΕ: -β- added by the scribe over the -Τ- 17 ΝϞΔ: Ν- ex corr. 20 ΝΠΡΩ: the split in the papyrus and penetration of ink give the false impression that -ρ- is duplicated 22 ΠΣΛΑΝΒΑΛ: -δ- ex -λ- corr. 25 ΝΒΡΡΕ: Ν- ex corr. 31 ΕΤϞ sic app., read ΕΤ<Β>Ε 33 ΩΙΝΕ: ω- ex corr. 36 ΕΤΔΑΩΤ: ε- looks like Ϟ- 37 ΝΟΥΔΙΩ: Ν- ex Ο- corr. 38 second ΩΙΝΕ: ω- ex corr.

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My brother, my master, my beloved one whom I love with all my heart and my soul: Theognostos. (It is) I, your brother Philammon. I greet (5) you warmly; in the Lord, - greetings.

Before everything: I greet you warmly. I greet my brother Hor. What indeed will I write to you (pl.) about the great evil that has happened? Comfort the heart of Pamour and Pegosh. (10) Noone can do anything. God knows the grief that is in my heart. For you are the ones who ought to comfort him; surely we know that a great evil has befallen him. And we also heard that the old woman departed the body. (15) My heart grieved. Comfort the heart of the others too on her account.

I also said to my father: "Write for my brother". He said: "I have already written through Ision, if he is persuaded he will come with him". See now, my brother (20) Ision has come to you. Do not stay, not coming with him; so that we can see each other, for we know not what adversity will happen. Now, do not leave my heart grieving. Bring five items, bronze vessels, with you when you come. (25) In any case, bring this new 'egg' for me, and the others that you want; so that we get their benefit ourselves, on account of they who look forward to you and our brother Ision.

Greet all our brothers by name. Greet my brother Pshai and my sister (30) and the children by name. Comfort the heart of our brother Papnoute about this evil that has happened. All they who are with us greet you; especially Plousiane who has written a (?) letter. Zosime greets you; and Ama Theodora and Dorothea and Ama Tatou; (35) and Ama Tapshai and her daughter and her sons, who are all looking forward (to when) you will reach them. Live and be well for a long time according to my prayers.

(tr) I Plousiane, I greet my brother Theognostos warmly. Greet Iena in my name, and the name of his brother Zosime. Greet him also in the name of Philammon.

**Commentary:**

7-16 This opening section has many of the typical features of letters of condolence, see e.g. J. Chapa, *Letters of Condolence in Greek Papyri*, Firenze 1998.

9-10 Since the misfortune has befallen ‘him’ (l. 12) rather than ‘them’, we wonder if the real sense might rather be: ‘Comfort the heart of Pamour. Neither Pegosh nor anyone can do anything’.

14 τῷ ἄλῳ: ‘old woman’. There is a connotation of respect here, which is not easily conveyed in English; perhaps rather like the Arabic ‘sheikha’ (f.), ‘matron’ or ‘old lady’?

17 ϸϩεῖ ἄϩα παϩαν: Does this mean ‘write on behalf of my brother’ (i.e. act as his scribe, cf. CD 382b), or ‘write for my brother’ (i.e. seeking after him)? We have understood the latter, as it makes sense with what follows.

25 ϩϩϩε ἄϩϩε: ‘new egg’; compare **81**, 51 where Philammon writes asking for a ϩαοϩε ἄϩαντ ‘bronze egg’, and similarly CD 374a οϩϩοϩε ἄϩαρωτ. It must be some kind of metal utensil or vessel, presumably oval in shape. Perhaps it is the same as the bronze oven dish (βατέλλιον or small *patella*) of P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 26. Note also **96**, 36 and comm. ad loc.

26-27 ποϩῆταν ἄϩητ: lit. ‘rest’ or ‘ease’ (CD 194a); here translated rather loosely as ‘benefit’ according to the evident sense.

33, 38 We have maintained a policy of following the Coptic spelling of names, but presumably this is the familiar male name ‘Zosimos’.

34-35 The use of the honorific ‘Ama’ is otherwise unknown in the archive; whilst the male equivalent ‘Apa’ is only found for Lysimachos, and on one occasion for Pseke (**90**, 44). We also note that the names Dorothea and Tatou have their sole occurrence in this letter, and that the only other Theodora is the giver of *agape* at **44**, 12. Consequently, it may be that the title has a religious connotation, although Ama Tashai certainly seems to have children here. The use of ‘Apa’ by the Manichaean community is evident from the doxologies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book (e.g. *PsBk2* 47, 22-23). Cf. CD 13ab.; and especially the recent discussion by M.J. Albarran Martinez, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos en el Egipto tardoantiguo*, Barcelona 2011: 115-117.

39 There is some ink further along (after the end of the text), but it may just be smudging.

**P. Kellis Copt. 81****Inv #:** P 68G**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** A complete and substantial Coptic letter on papyrus. It was found in a single piece, with the only real loss being on the lower right hand side (where a portion seems eaten away and there is some abrasion of the surface). The dimensions are 274 x 92 mm.; with the centre fold at 137 mm., and an upper margin of 10 mm. As with document **80**, the papyrus is of good quality and exhibits no sign of previous usage.

**Content:** Philammon writes to Theognostos, whom he greets in the letter as Louishai (see further **65**, 3 and the note ad loc.). He adds greetings to Hor. Kapitou (probably the same as Kapiton) has come from the Oasis without a letter from them, and Philammon complains about this. He then starts a complicated narrative of grievance which can not be fully understood, except that the main culprit seems to be the same Kapitou. Another colleague (?) adds his complaint. On the verso, Philammon (?) continues with some further instructions, and requests to be sent some items. Presumably he is still writing to Theognostos, in which case the latter is not actually in Kellis (ll. 50-51). This may explain why (unusually) the letter does not end with greetings to the extended family.

**Address:**

verso

κυρίωι μο\υ/ ἀδελφῶι X Θεογνώστωι  
Φιλάμμων

To my master brother X Theognostos. (From) Philammon.

**Names:** Apolloni (the man of Siat); Hor; Kapitou; Louishai; Philammon; Theognostos; -klei

## Text:

1 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΑΧΑΪΣ ΕΤ`ΤΑΪΑΙΤ` ΝΤΟΤ  
 2 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΛΟΥΪΨΑΪ ΑΝΑΚ  
 3 ΦΙΛΑΝΗΩΝ ΠΕΤ`ΣΖΕΪ ΕΪΨΙΝΕ  
 4 ΔΡΑΚ ΖἸ ΠΧΑΪΣ` ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 5 ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΨΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟ  
 6 ΝΟΥ ΜἸ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΖΩΡ †ΡΘΑΥΜΑ  
 7 ΖΕ ΧΕ ΖΑ ΚΑΠΙΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΒΑΛ ΖΙΤΟΤΚ  
 8 ἸΠἸ† ΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΕϞ ΑἸΤϞ  
 9 ΝΗΪ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔϞΕΙ ΜΑΧΕϞ ΧΕ  
 10 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΖΩΡ ΨΩΝΕ` ΑΪΡΛΥΠΗ  
 11 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΧΕ ἸΠΕΤἸΣΖΕΪ ΝΗΪ  
 12 ΧΕ ΕϞΟ ΝΕΨ ΝΖΕ` ΤΕΤἸ  
 13 ΣΖΕΪ ΝΗΤἸ ΧΕ ΔΜΟΥ ΔΟΥΑΖΕ  
 14 ΕΪἸΝΗΥ ΝΕΨ ΝΖΕ` ΠΕ†ΡΘΑΡΕ  
 15 ἸΜΑϞ ΧΕ ΕΪΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΒΗΤϞ ϞΤΕ  
 16 ΝΗΪ ΕΝ ἸΘΕ ΑΤΡΑΕΙ ἸϞΕΝΟΥϞ  
 17 ΕΤΑϞΕΙ ΔΚΗΜΕ ΑΪ† ΨΑΜἸ  
 18 ΤΒΑ ΝΕϞ ἸΤΙΜΗ ἸΚΗΜΕ ἸΧἸΒΕ  
 19 ΔϞΕΪ ἸΠἸ† ΛΑΥΕ ΝΗΪ †ΝΟΥ ΠΕ  
 20 ἸΜΕΡ ΔΡΑϞ ΟΥΝΤΕΪ ΟΥΤΒΑ ΜἸ  
 21 ΧΟΥΩΤ ἸΨΕ ἸΒἸΒΩΡ ἸΤΟΤϞ  
 22 ΜΑΡΕϞΤΕΟΥ ΖΑ ΖΒΑΣ ϞΤἸΝΑΥΣΟΥ  
 23 ΝΗΪ †ἸΜΑΪΖΕ ΧΕ ϞἸΟΥΑΖΕ  
 24 ΕΙΣ ΟΥΗΡ ἸΟΥΑΪΨ ΝΑἸΚΕ ἸΤΟ  
 25 ΤἸ ἸΠἸΠΛΔ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΩΝ ΔΒΑΛ  
 26 ΔϞΕΙ ΔΚΗΜΕ ΜΑΧΕϞ ΧΕ ΔϞΕΙ  
 27 ΔἸΛΛΕ ΔϞΤΒΒΕ ΠΡΟ ἸΤΡΙ ΖΑ  
 28 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΠἸἸ ἸΣΙΑΥΤ` ΔϞΕΙ  
 29 ΔϞΨΕΤ` ἸΤΒΑ ΣΝΕΥ ἸΒἸΒΩΡ  
 30 †ΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΕϞΤἸΝΑΥ Π†ΟΥ Ἰ

- 31    ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲤ ⲛⲛⲓ [ [ . ] ] ϥϥ̄ . . ϥ  
32    ⲧⲈ ϫⲈ ⲧⲗⲗⲮⲠⲏ ρⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲏⲧ̄ . . . . ⲛ  
33    †ⲱⲁⲧ̄ ⲛⲗⲁⲅⲈ Ⲉⲛ̄ ϥ . [ . . . ] . .  
34    ϣⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲅⲛⲈ ⲁⲛⲟⲅ ⲛ . [ . . . . ] . ⲁ  
35    † ⲧⲗⲓⲛⲛⲈ̄ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲁⲕⲗ̄[ⲗⲈ . ] . . ⲁⲥ  
36    ⲛⲁⲭ ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲧⲃⲁ ⲛⲓⲛ̄[ⲓⲱⲣ] ⲟⲅϥⲱ  
37    ⲛⲁⲤⲈ Ⲉⲟⲅⲛ† ⲟⲅⲛⲣ ⲁⲛⲁ[ⲕ] . . . .  
38    ⲕⲗⲈⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ρⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲥⲁ[ⲛ . ] . . . ⲡ  
39    ⲙⲈⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲈⲥⲧⲛⲛⲁⲅ [ⲛ]†ⲟⲅ ⲛ  
40    ⲥⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲤ ⲛⲛⲓ ϫⲈ ⲕⲥⲁⲅ[ⲛⲈ] ρⲱⲕ  
41    ⲛⲛⲁⲤⲈ ⲈⲧⲁⲥⲧⲣⲓⲧⲈⲟⲅ̄ ⲙⲛⲥ† ⲱ/ⲛⲧⲈ  
42    ρⲏⲧ ⲁⲥⲱⲡ ϫⲟⲅⲧⲏ ⲛⲱⲈ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲱⲣ ρⲁ ⲡⲃⲈ  
43    ⲕⲈ ⲛⲧⲁⲱⲧⲏⲛ̄ ⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲅⲱⲅⲓⲧⲈ ⲛⲟⲅⲛⲁⲓ  
44    ⲛⲟⲅⲁⲓⲱ  
tr45    ϥⲣⲈ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲅ ⲟⲅⲛ̄ⲧϥ ⲧⲣⲈⲥⲧ ⲟⲅⲛⲣ ⲛⲟⲅⲁⲓⲱ †ⲛⲟⲅ ⲕⲥⲁⲅⲛⲈ ρⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ ϫⲈ ⲙⲛ̄†  
ϩⲈⲈⲗⲡⲓⲤ ρⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲤⲙⲟⲤ ⲛⲥⲈⲃⲗⲗⲈⲕ  
v46    ⲈⲱⲱⲡⲈ ⲕⲥⲁⲅⲛⲈ ϫⲈ ⲟⲅⲛ ϣⲙⲈ ρⲁⲧⲏⲕ Ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲡ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲃⲱⲃ  
47    ⲥⲓⲈⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲧⲁⲧⲛⲛⲁⲅ ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲈⲕ ⲛⲙⲛⲁ ⲛⲱⲛⲏⲈ ⲕⲧⲈⲟⲅⲁ  
48    ⲈⲓⲔⲟⲤ ⲕⲧⲛⲛⲁⲅⲤⲟⲅ ⲛⲛⲓ̄ ⲈⲱⲱⲡⲈ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲏⲁⲛ ⲥⲓⲈⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲅ  
49    ⲧⲈ ⲛⲟⲅⲁⲈⲧϥ ⲡⲈⲧⲥⲁⲅⲛⲈ ⲁⲡⲣⲈⲱⲈ Ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲥⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲛⲧ  
50    ⲙⲛⲡⲛⲟ ⲈⲧⲛⲁⲤⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲟⲅⲱⲅⲓⲧⲈ̄ †ⲛⲟⲅ Ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲃⲱⲕ  
51    ⲁⲔⲗⲗⲈ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲅⲓ ⲛⲭⲁⲗⲕⲅ ⲏⲧⲥⲁⲟⲅⲓⲈ ⲛⲓⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲱⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲛⲓⲅⲈⲤⲏⲤ  
52    ⲡⲓⲓⲛ̄ Ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ ⲙⲏⲁⲥ ⲧⲛⲏⲣⲱⲱⲈ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲅⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲁⲅⲗⲈ  
53    ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲓⲃ ⲛⲓⲛⲧϥ ⲱⲛⲈ ⲁⲣⲁⲅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲅ ⲛⲗⲕⲁⲟⲅ ρⲓ ⲡⲱⲟⲅⲱⲧ  
54    ⲕⲧⲱⲃⲈ ⲁⲣⲱⲟⲅ ⲙⲏⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲁⲕⲏⲙⲈ ⲙⲁⲅⲈⲥ ϫⲈ ⲙⲛⲡⲓⲛⲧⲟⲅ  
55    ⲁⲅⲱ †ⲧⲡⲥⲧⲏⲙ

5 large initial, covering the margin in front of ll. 4-6    7 ⲕⲁⲡⲓⲧⲟⲅ: -T- ex corr.    13 ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ sic,  
read ⲛⲏⲓ (cf. 90, 10)    20 ⲡ̄ ⲙⲈⲣ: ⲡ̄ ex Ⲉ- corr.    ⲙⲛ̄: M- ex corr.    21 ϫⲟⲅⲱⲧ: ϫ- ex corr.    30-31  
ⲛ̄|ⲛ̄- dittography    45 ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲅ: N- ex corr., ⲟⲅⲛ̄ⲧϥ: -ⲛ̄- and -ϥ ex corr.    46 ρⲱⲃ: -B ex corr.  
49 ⲛⲟⲅⲁⲈⲧϥ: -ϥ ex corr.    53 ⲛⲓⲛⲧϥ: -T- ex corr.



My brother, my master who is greatly honoured by me: Louishai. I, Philammon, am the one who writes greeting you; in the Lord, - greetings.

(5) Before everything: I greet you warmly and my brother Hor. I am surprised that (when) Kapitou came from you, you did not give him a letter to bring to me; especially as he came saying that (10) my brother Hor is sick. I am very distressed that you did not write to me how he is. You write to <me>: “Come to the Oasis”. How can I come? The one on whom I rely (15) - so that I could come on his account - does not give me the means to enable me to come! ... (when?) he was in Egypt I paid him 30,000 at Egyptian price for dye. He has come and given me nothing. Now (20) take care of him. I am owed 12,000 talents by him: Let him pay for cloth he sends to me! I am astonished that he has been in the Oasis such a long time, and my things are with (25) him; (and yet) he has not accomplished (any kind of) progress.

(When) he came to Egypt he said that he had been in Kellis and sealed (?) the door of the store for Apolloni, the Assiut man. He came and demanded of me 20,000 talents. (30) Now, let him send me five sets of cloth ... for your grief is in my heart ... I lack for nothing ... someone knowledgeable. Come ... (35) pay your fare. (When) he came to Kellis ... he threw (away) 30,000 talents without cost (to himself?). How much do I have?

(It is) I, -klei: You too my brother ... take care of him. Let him send me five (40) sets of cloth, for you yourself know the costs that he has caused me to pay. He was not ashamed. He reckoned 2,500 talents wages for my tunic! Live and be well for a long time.

(tr 45) ... how much time. Now, you also yourself know that I have no hope in the world except for you.

(v) If you know that there is someone with you who will do my work: Write to me and I will send you 10 *mna* of dye. You produce the items and send them to me. And if not, write to me. God alone knows the joy that comes to my heart (50) any time I hear of your well-being. Now, should you go to Kellis: This small copper, the bronze ‘egg’; three *xestai* measures; the *hin* measure that we use; our clay pot; the small *askaule* container; the plant in it. Seek them all and put them in the alcove and seal the openings. For he came to Egypt and said: “I did not find them (55) and I made it shut”.

**Commentary:**

16  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\text{NOY}\zeta$ : We cannot make sense of this as it stands. Here are some (rather speculative) comments:

(1) Both the general context and the following relative perfect would seem to suggest a clause-initial time adverbial (with whatever letter, or none, between  $\bar{\eta}$ - and  $\text{NOY}\zeta$ ) similar to  $\bar{\eta}\pi\text{N}\epsilon\gamma$ ,  $\bar{\eta}\text{TOY}\text{NOY}$ ,  $\bar{\eta}\pi\text{ZOY}$  or suchlike. However, no such word is known to exist with  $-\text{NOY}\zeta$ .

(2) If the reading is indeed  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\text{NOY}\zeta$ , one may think of a variant spelling for  $\text{NANOY}\zeta$  ‘it is good’, perhaps vested with an interrogative  $\bar{\eta}$ -, so that the meaning might be ‘Is it any good? When he came ...’. Apart from the unhelpful vagueness of such an expression, one would also expect an impersonal form  $\text{NANOY}\varsigma$  (or else,  $\pi\epsilon\text{T}\text{NANOY}\zeta$ ) and  $\epsilon\text{T}\alpha\zeta$ - is unlikely to be a stand-alone temporal in this southern dialect.

(3) Conceivably,  $(\epsilon)\text{NOY}\zeta$  might be an abbreviated personal name, used to introduce a person other than the one referred to before. In this case, the relative perfect would be only slightly odd. Yet name forms would not usually end like this but rather in  $-\zeta\epsilon$  (such as a short form for  $\omega\epsilon\text{NOY}\zeta\epsilon$ ; the kind of shortening possibly found in the supposed name  $\text{NOY}\text{T}\epsilon$  at 45, 11) or even in  $-\zeta\pi$  (such as the many variant forms of  $\text{ONO}\phi\text{P}\text{I}\text{OC}$ :  $\text{ONO}\phi\text{P}\text{I}$ ,  $\text{OY}(\epsilon)\text{NO}\phi(\epsilon)\text{P}$ ,  $\epsilon\text{NNO}\phi\text{P}\text{I}$ , etc.). With the preceding  $\bar{\eta}$ -, however, this appears most unlikely.

(4) The most obvious interpretation of  $\text{NOY}\zeta$  as being the suffixed possessive pronoun in the plural, which in this context might be taken to mean ‘his relatives’, ‘his people’ instead of the more common ‘his belongings’, must be discarded because of the singular pronoun in the following  $\epsilon\text{T}\alpha\zeta$ -.

22  $\text{Z}\alpha\ \text{Z}\beta\alpha\varsigma$ : ‘for cloth’ (or clothes?); cf. Philammon again at 82, 22 + ff.

27  $\text{T}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ - (inf., prenominal): It is preferable for sense to suppose here a form of  $\text{T}\omega\beta\epsilon$  ‘seal’ (cf. the noun  $\text{T}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\epsilon$  in dialect *L4*); rather than  $\text{T}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\text{O}$  *S*,  $\text{TOY}\bar{\beta}\text{O}$  *L4*, ‘purify / cleanse the door of the store’. See also l. 54.

28  $\text{C}\text{I}\alpha\gamma\text{T}$ : The indigenous Egyptian name is given (preserved in the modern Assiut) rather than the Greek Lycopolis.

31, 40  $\text{C}\alpha\dot{\iota}\omega$ : lit. ‘pair’ (?), but see the note and further references at 79, 20.

37-38 ἀνα[κ] . . . |κλει: '(It is) I, -klei'. It appears that a new writer begins and adds his complaint to reinforce that of Philammon. The ending suggests a name like Heraklei (Herakles); but the traces visible in l. 37 are not very convincing, as they would more obviously read ἀπ . . . or ἀρτα- vel sim. Indeed, the first letter of l. 38 might itself better be an γ-; (though that would be difficult to reconcile with the line break).

45 – We can make no sense of the start of this line. There seem to be a number of corrections, and perhaps some smudging. Presumably Philammon is writing again with his complaint.

51 See further **80**, 25 and note ad loc. for discussion of the bronze 'egg'.

'.. three *xestai* measures': It is not clear to us whether Philammon asks for three separate measures or a single one of this value. Three *xestai* / *sextarii* are half a *chous*, or a sixth of a *keramion* (cf. KAB p. 49).

52 For the *hin* measure see N. Kruit, K.A. Worp, 'Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 45, 1999: 96-127 [121-123 and nn. 35, 40-42].

52-53 πικροῦ ἰβάσκαυλε πινῆς ἡστῆς: The small *askaule* must be some kind of container, because it has a plant or herb (cf. ΝΗΣ CD 233ab) in it. K.A. Worp suggests that it is an *Ascalonion* jar, for which see N. Kruit, K.A. Worp, 'Geographical Jar Names: Towards a Multi-Disciplinary Approach', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 46, 2000: 65-146 [99-103]; also A. Alcock, 'Coptic Terms for Weights and Measures', *Enchoria*, 23, 1996: 1-7 [1].

53 ψινε ἀραγ τηροῦ: The normal understanding of the phrase ('Greet them all') would be odd in the middle of things here. Either this is a slip of the pen (ἀραγ for ἡρωῦ) or one may suppose that the basic meaning 'visit' (CD 569a) allows for a nuance '(go and) seek them all out'.

πψογψτ: A niche or alcove (CD 608b-609a). The following final comment seems to be another note of mistrust, i.e. that Kapitou will steal the items and try to claim that they were never there. Thus Theognostos is asked to seal it up tight.

55 ††̄σ̄τηη: This is an unclear expression, but certainly not what it may look like at first sight: ††̄σ̄τηη 'I am causing there to be stibium / kohl'. As there is enough talk in the context about stashing away and sealing off things, we have taken the sigma to

belong to the causative infinitive, to be followed by a form of  $\tau\omega\mu$  'shut'. That this form should be a stative is surprising, but the most likely interpretation of  $\dagger\text{-}\tau\bar{\rho}\text{-}\tau\eta\mu$  seems to be as an equivalent of  $\dagger\tau\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\mu$  (or  $\dagger\tau\rho\circ\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu$ ) 'I am causing it to be shut'. Whether this is still part of the reported speech, or rather a conclusion of the letter-writer himself, is not clear. Possibly the logic is something like: (Since he said he had not found them) 'now / indeed ( $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ) I am keeping them shut'.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 82**

**Inv #:** P 81E (a) + P64A + P69 + P78G + P81B + P93B + P93D

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposits 3 + 4.

**Preservation:** A virtually complete letter in Coptic, now reconstructed from nine fragments; (the lower half remains in one piece, but the upper part above the centre fold has broken up). The document is 276 x 76 mm., with an upper margin of 9 mm. Like the other letters sent by Philammon (**80-81**), it is a very competent production on a fine and new (i.e. not reused) piece of papyrus.

**Content:** Philammon (in the Nile valley) writes to Loishai (i.e. Theognostos), whom he addresses in the letter simply as Shai. He adds greetings to Hor, and explains that he has not written earlier as he has been ill for three months. He asks that some items be given for Kapiton (in the Oasis) to bring to him, and complains about things not done. Greetings are made to family members, and another colleague adds his own note.

This document provides a number of clear links to other persons central to the broader archive. Pamour is with Philammon in the valley, and their business is going well. Pegosh however is in the Oasis at this point in time. The letter implies that it is Philammon who is the senior figure in their common trading ventures. However, Apa Lysimachos seems to have some overall authority for their movements (see here the discussion in the note to **72**, 35). This latter reference clearly links the group to Makarios

and his family. In **21** Lysimachos is placed in Antinoopolis. Although Philammon does not name Makarios, his wife Maria or his sons Matthaios and Piene, he does greet ‘my mother Gouria’. If we are right that she is the same as the Kyria of the Makarios family letters, then the fact that she appears here as a matriarch (and without mention of her husband Pshempnoute who is presumably deceased), provides strong evidence that the date of this piece must be somewhat later than the time-frame for those other letters. Conversely, one should compare a letter like **24**, where Makarios ends with greetings to Pamour, Pegosh and Philammon. At that point they are all still in the Oasis.

N.B. This letter was found together with **116**. Although the two pieces have different authors, they clearly relate to the same general context (note especially the references to Kapiton and Egypt in both) and the latter may usefully be read together with **82**.

### Address:

verso

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ X λαϊῳαῖ Φιλάμμων

To my master brother X Loishai. (From) Philammon.

**Names:** A-; Apa Lysimachos; Gouria; Hor; Kapiton; Loishai / Shai (= Theognostos); Pagosh; Pamour; Philammon; Pshai;

### Text:

- 1 [Π]ΑCΑΝ ἸΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΔΕΙΤ
- 2 ἸΤΟΤ` ΤΟΝΟΥ ΠΡΕἸ ΕΤ`ΖΑΛΔ ΕΤ`
- 3 ΖἸΡῶἸ ἸΗΝΟ ΝΙΜ ΠΑCΑΝ ῶΑἸ
- 4 ΑΝΑΚ ΦΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΕΤCΖΕἸ ΕC
- 5 ῶΙΝΕ ΑΡΑΚ ΖἸ ΠΧΑἸC ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
- 6 [Ζ]ΑΘΗ ἸΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †[ῶΙΝΕ ΑΡΑ]Κ ΤΟΝΟΥ
- 7 ΕἸῶΛΗΛ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ [ΧΕ ΕἸΑ]ΟΥΑῶΤἸ
- 8 ἸΚΕCΑΓ` ἸΤΕ ΠΑΡΕῶΕ ΧῶΚ ΑΒΑΛ
- 9 ΧΩΡΙC ΖΑΖ ἸCΕΧΕ ΚCΑΥΝΕ ἸΤΑ
- 10 ΓΑΠἸ ΕΤἸΖΗΤ ῶ[Α]ΡΑΚ` †ῶΙΝΕ

- 11 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΠΑΣΑΝ 2[ω]P M̄N̄ ΨΑΪ ΕΠ̄  
 12 ΒΝΑΡΙΚΕ ΤΕ ΔΡΑΪ ΧΕ N̄ΠΙC2ΕΪ ΝΕΚ  
 13 N̄ΝΙ200Υ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ P̄M̄N̄ΤΡΕ ΧΕ  
 14 ΕΙC ΨΑΜ̄T̄ N̄ΕΒΑΤ †ΨΩΝΕ  
 15 N̄ΠΙ6N ΠΡΗΤΕ N̄C2ΕΪ ΑΛΛΑ  
 16 ΤΟΥΕΨΤΕ N̄ΠΠΝΟΥ<ΤΕ> ΕΙCΤΞ ΔΙΤΩ  
 17 ΟΥΝ ΕΨΑΤΕ ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝ ΕΙ ΕC̄N̄ΗΥ  
 18 ΑΚΗΜΕ † ΤΗΑΔ N̄ΨΑΨΑΤΕ ΝΕC  
 19 M̄N̄ ΠΑΚ'ΚΙΛ[ . ] ΞΞ ΕC̄N̄ΗΥ ΝΗΪ  
 20 ΨΑΟΥΗΡ N̄CΑΠ' 2ΙC2ΕΪ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ  
 21 ΜΑΡΕ ΠΑΪΩΤ ΠΨΑΪ † N̄2ΑΜΤ  
 22 ΤΕΤ̄N̄ΤΕΟΥ 2Α 2ΒΑC ΤΕΤ̄N̄ΤΕΝΑΥ  
 23 CΟΥ N̄ΠΕΤ̄N̄P̄ ΦΩΒ †ΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΕC  
 24 ΤΕΟΥ ΤΕΤ̄N̄ΤΕΝΑΥCΟΥ ΧΕ 2Ι† 2N̄  
 25 ΝΑΔ 2ΩΤ N̄ΑCΕ ΑΠCΗ̄N̄ ΨΑ  
 26 ΤΕC̄ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ M̄ΜΑΪ †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΤΑ  
 27 ΜΟ ΔΟΥΡΙΑ ΤΟΝΟΥ M̄N̄ ΤΑCΩΝΕ  
 28 M̄N̄ ΠC2ΕΪ M̄N̄ ΤΕC̄ΨΕΡΕ †ΨΙ  
 29 ΝΕ ΑΠΑΣΑΝ 2ΩΡ M̄N̄ ΤC̄2ΙΜΕ M̄N̄  
 30 ΝΕC̄ΨΗΡΕ †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΑ  
 31 ΔΩΨ M̄N̄ ΤΕC̄2ΙΜΕ ΠΑΜΟΥΡ  
 32 ΨΙΝΕ ΔΡΩΤ̄N̄ C2ΑΤΗΪ M̄ΜΗΝΕ  
 33 C̄P̄ΨΕΥ CΙΡΕ M̄ΠΕC̄2ΩΒ ΚΑΛΩC  
 34 2Δ . . 2ΑΪ ΧΕ 2ΞΨC K̄P̄ ΠΕΚ2ΩΒ  
 35 2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΪΕΙΡΕ M̄ΜΑC †† ΑCΕ  
 36 ΕΝ ΔΚ'C2ΕΪ ΧΕ †N̄ΗΥ ΑΚΗΜΕ  
 37 N̄ΠP̄ΕΙ †ΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΗ ΤΑΧΑ ΕΝΑ  
 38 ΕΙ ΝΕΝ ΡΩ ΧΕ 2ΙΧΝΟΥ ΑΠΑ ΛΥCΙΝΑ  
 39 ΧΟC ΜΑΧΕC ΧΕ N̄Ε  
 40 ΝΑ2ΜΑC ΤΕΪ ἔpp(ωσο)  
 tr41 ΑΝΑΚ Α . [ . . . ] . . †ΨΙ[N]Ε ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΝΑCΗ̄ΟΥ ΝΑΧΙCΑΥΕ Ε[Τ]ΕN̄Π̄C2ΕΪ ΝΗΤ̄N̄  
 N̄ΝΙ200ΥΕ ΧΕ T̄N̄CΑΥΝΕ ΕΝ N̄ΠΡΩΜΕ

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11 ⲈⲠⲓ̄-, i.e. ⲠⲠⲓ̄- 34 ⲭⲈ: ⲭ- ex 2- corr., 2ⲈⲱⲈ: -ⲱ- ex corr.

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My loved brother, greatly honoured by me, the sweet name in my mouth at all times: My brother Shai. (It is) I, Philammon, who writes (5) greeting you; in the Lord, - greetings.

Before everything: I [greet] you warmly; I am praying to God [that I might] embrace you another time and my joy be complete. Without many words: You know the (10) love that I have for you. I greet warmly my brother Hor, and Shai. And do not find fault with me, that I did not write to you these days. God bears witness that I have been sick for three months. (15) I did not find the means to write; but, praise God, look, I am restored!

When Kapiton sets out to come to Egypt, give him the large cushion and the ..., for he is coming to me. (20) How many times have I written to you (pl.): “Let my father Pshai give the money and you can pay for clothes and send them”. You have not done the thing. Now, let him pay and you send them; for I have (25) myself had great costs to the doctor until he healed me.

I greet my mother Gouria warmly, and my sister and her husband and her daughter. I greet my brother Hor and his wife and (30) his sons. I greet my brother Pagosh and his wife. Pamour greets you (pl.). He is with me daily. He is diligent, doing his work well, (so much so) that I said (to him): “As long as you (sg.) perform your work, (35) nothing I do makes a loss”.

You wrote: “I am coming to Egypt”. Do not come now, for is there any chance we will meet? In that I asked Apa Lysimachos, (and) he said that we might not (40) stay here.

(tr) (It is) I, A-, I greet warmly my brothers, my masters: That we have not written to you these days is because we do not know the man.

### Commentary:

7-8 Here again is the familiar prayer formula, an almost exact parallel to **35**, 25-26; **42**, 12-14; **115**, 4-6 (and slightly variant wording elsewhere at **78**, 10-12 etc.). Of course, there are familiar New Testament parallels; but we suspect that the model is Mani’s *Epistles*. See further the discussions at **78**, 11-12 and **90**, 7-8.

11 Probably this is not a second person named Shai; rather, he is just repeating himself. In his other letters Philammon greet (Loui)shai / Theognostos first, then afterwards Hor; but noone else until the concluding section.

16 ΤΟΥΕΩΤΕ ΠΠΠΟΥΚΤΕ»: cf. **71**, 36; **116**, 15; and the references and comments in P. Kellis V at p. 80.

17 More literally: ‘If Kapiton comes, he is coming ...’.

18 ΤΗΑΣ ΠΦΑΦΑΤΕ: ‘the large cushion’; cf. CD 573b ΩΝΩΩΤΕ and 609a ΩΕΩΟΤΕ.

19 ΠΑΚΚΙΛΙ . ]: We suppose that this item goes with the previous ‘large cushion’; but the reading is very unclear as it lies across the (broken) centre fold. As the spelling ΔΚΚ normally indicates a Greek word in ἀγκ- or ἀγγ-, the best candidates would all seem to be nouns which are feminine in gender, such as ἀγκύλη ‘loop’ or ‘hook’, or perhaps ἀγκάλη ‘bundle’; (but reading Τ- instead of Π- for the article seems difficult here). On the other hand, omicron after iota (to read a form of ἀγγεῖον) is excluded.

38 ΝΕΝ ΡΩ: Perhaps one should emend to ΝΕ<Κ>, with the following ΡΩ as emphatic. Thus: ‘.. lest perhaps we might rather come to you ...’.

39-40 ΠΕΝΔΩΜΑC ΤΕΪ: In P. Kellis V (p. 31) we referred to this passage, suggesting that it meant: ‘Do not save this!’. However, on reflection, we think that that was incorrect and that the verb is ΩΜΕCΤ ‘sit down’ (CD 679a + ff.), rather than ΝΟΥΩΜΕ ‘save’; which is then followed with the particle ΤΕΪ ‘here’ (CD 390ab). See W.-P. Funk, ‘Negative Ν-without ΔΝ as a late Survival in southern Coptic?’, (paper presented to the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 2008, to be published in *Lingua Aegyptia*).

41 (Lit.) ‘.. we do not know the man’: The meaning is probably general rather than specific to any one person. It is a common feature of the papyri to find comments to the effect that the writer has not been able to find any reliable carrier for the letter.



## LETTERS FROM THEOGNOSTOS

Theognostos is a central figure in the archive. He is the primary recipient of all three letters by Philammon (**80-82**), and the one in Greek by Lysimachos (P. Kellis I Gr. 67); but he is also frequently greeted by the brothers Pamour and Pegosh, together with others of the same circle such as Pshai. In particular, we find that Theognostos is often mentioned in association with Hor and with Andreas. Whilst it is possible to suppose that there is more than one person of this name in the archive as a whole, it seems most probable that the great majority of references are to the same man. He is also named Louishai or similar, which can itself be abbreviated to Shai (see **65**, 3 note ad loc.).

Despite all this, it is not entirely clear what role Theognostos has, nor his precise relationship to the principal family. P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 9-10 may indicate that Andreas is his son (that is, if one understands it literally), and it could be that Theognostos is related by marriage to the House 3 family. However, it is not apparent to us who would be his wife. It is true that, amongst the women, he is especially linked to Partheni / Heni. In **83** he writes to her directly; and **71**, 2-3 might be taken to indicate that Andreas was her son. In that case she would be Theognostos' wife. However, this line of thinking has to be balanced against similar arguments we have made that Partheni is Pegosh's wife (see e.g. **75**). Perhaps, in fact, Theognostos is Partheni's brother? Probably it is impossible to disentangle the relationships completely given the loose terminology used (especially in Coptic). Document **73** provides another example of the very close relationships between these characters, and (tellingly) discusses how children could be adopted within the larger family group.

Theognostos often appears as part of the general circle of people in Kellis and its surroundings who are written to from the Nile valley; but we do know that he also travelled 'to Egypt'. Thus, in **80** he is to journey there with Ision, bringing items for Philammon. Perhaps such visits give a context to **83** (which may belong with the Pamour - Pegosh - Philammon letters that are generally written from the valley to the Oasis). However, the short periods of time referred to in **84**, ranging from two to five days,

means surely that in this second piece Theognostos is writing from quite close by. In **81**, 50-51, the implication is that Theognostos is in the Oasis but elsewhere than Kellis. Incidentally, these letters (**84** by Theognostos and **81** from Philammon to him) were very closely associated in their find site (note their inventory numbers of P 68G and P 68G (a)).

We can be virtually certain that Theognostos was himself a Manichaean, noting especially his connection to Lysimachos; although in **83-84** we do not receive any specific indication about his faith. However, an important issue is the relationship of **84** to a pair of overtly Manichaean letters published in volume 1: **32** and **33**. Although we do not know the author of those pieces, the hand is very similar (see the comments at n. 218 in the earlier volume); and there are also other stylistic similarities noted in the commentary. The only securely-attested name in **33** is Heni. It seems more probable than not that **32**, **33** and **84** were all written by the one scribe; but whether Theognostos himself composed the remarkable Manichaean sentiments in **32** (especially) is an unanswerable question.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 83**

**Inv #:** A/5/24

**SCA #:** 1858

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 1 north-west corner.

**Preservation:** Part of a well-written letter in Coptic on a wooden board. The dimensions of the surviving piece are 80 x 20-25 (x 3) mm. Side 'A' starts almost immediately with Theognostos greeting Heni, and what follows is perhaps most easily understood as a lengthy postscript to a letter primarily written by another person; this is because what precedes Theognostos' introduction of himself seems to be more than the initial opening formula of a letter. In this case, it would be likely that the text on side 'B' in fact belongs

to the earlier part of the letter and that the speaker there is not Theognostos. If this hypothesis is correct, then a good candidate for the lost ‘first’ author might be Pegosh, given his own close association with Partheni. It can be noted that in P. Kellis I Gr. 72 Theognostos is with Pegosh, though in that instance they seem to be in the Oasis and writing to Pamour in the valley. Support for this hypothesis may also come from 76, a letter from Pagosh to Partheni, where a Pollon (see l. 10 *infra*) appears. In that piece the Shai of l. 26 might then be Theognostos himself.

**Content:** If side ‘B’ in fact precedes ‘A’, the content of the letter indicates a concern about some item not being sent that is very typical of these pieces. As elsewhere, the precise details of the matter are difficult to determine. Theognostos’ postscript is then directed to Heni and the household (in Kellis?), who are sick. He makes an ambiguous if intriguing reference to his location being ‘disturbed’.

**Address:** None preserved, and probably (given that it is a wooden board) one was not written.

**Names:** Heni; Lauti (= Lautine?); Pini; Pollon; Tagoshe; Theognostos;

**Text:**

[..... τῆναυ]

A (x+)<sup>1</sup> σε ντοτϣ ..... [.]...[.]...[.....]. [.....]

2 τανο ταςωε ετβε πζωβ<sup>·</sup> vac ανακ<sup>·</sup> θεογνωστος τωινε α

3 πο τονου ταςωνε ζενη μη νετζη̄ πῑ τηρου μαλιστα νικοῡι

4 ᾱῑραυπη τονου η̄ταρε πῑνι χος σε τετνω̄ωνε αλλα οῡν̄ δαμ<sup>·</sup>

5 η̄πνουτε ϣτ̄ πουχε̄ιτε νητη̄ν̄ πνουτε πετρη̄νη̄τρε σε πετρη̄πμευ

6 ε ζι π̄νη̄η̄τ̄ η̄νο νιμ<sup>·</sup> ενογωω ει τ̄η̄νο αρωτη̄ν̄ αλλα ε̄ν̄ναρ̄ ο σε

7 πιμα τη̄ζ τ̄νου τ̄η̄ρατε μη̄τρε οῡπεθαυ ωωπε ψατε πιμα δω

8 εϣτη̄ζ<sup>·</sup> εωωπε εν̄ ... η̄τ̄ .̄... [.....]. [.....]

B9 ..[.].....[.]...[.]...[.....]. [.....]. [.....]. [.....] ετ[ᾱῑ]

10 ζαβ̄ε̄ η̄πῑωτ̄ πολλων ετβε πζνο ετ̄η̄τοτϣ̄ σε εϣμαζτε



10 For 'father Pollon' see also **45**, 7 and perhaps **76**, 59. The name 'Heni' is also common to these three documents.

One really has no idea what this 'item' (ϩNO 'thing', cf. CD 692b-693a) was; but because the letters were read out in public, perhaps the use of an indefinite term became a way to preserve privacy.

15 Tagoshe (?): It is preferable to suppose that ϫOC 'said' is preceded by a proper name ending ϣϬ-, than to read ΜΜϬ in its place. Obviously, Tagoshe is the likely reading, though it should be noted that the preceding visible traces are not very satisfactory. If this is correct it provides a link to the recurrence of the same name at A, 2.

Lauti: Probably for Lautine, see further the introduction to **58**.

### P. Kellis Copt. 84

**Inv #:** P 68G(a)

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** A complete papyrus letter written by a fluent hand in Coptic, with the brief opening formula in Greek. It is now broken at the centre fold. The dimensions are 264 x 60 mm., with an upper margin of 8 mm. and 5 mm. on the left hand. The lower 36 mm. of papyrus is blank. The piece should be compared to **32** (and **33**).

**Content:** Theognostos writes to Psais. Most probably the latter is in Kellis and the author elsewhere in the Oasis (compare **81**, 50-51). The principal context for the letter is news of a sick woman, and it is conceivable that she could be Eirene (the recipient of **32**). Still, illness is a common theme in the papyri.

**Address:**

verso

κυρίωι μου ἀδελφῶι Ψάϊτι	X	Θεόγνωστος
		ἀδελφός
To my master brother Psais.	X	(From) brother Theognostos.

**Names:** Andreas; Hom; Hor; Kyros; Pshai; Theognostos;**Text:**

1 κυρ[ί]φ μου ἀδελφῶι Ψάϊτι  
 2 Θεόγνωστ[ο]ς ἀδελφός χαίρειν  
 3 †ϣωινε ἀρακ τονου μῆν νιλαγ  
 4 ε λγσαπ κατα νογρεν ῆναδ  
 5 μῆν ῆκογῖ †ῤωπηρε τονου  
 6 χε ῆπετῆταῖαῖ αςζει νηῖ  
 7 ογτε ῆτν ρων ὀγτε ῆτῆ  
 8 ρωρ μαλιστα ετβε τςριμε  
 9 ετφωνε χε εσο ῆεω  
 10 ῆζε χε ἀρα νας† απογχεῖ  
 11 τε χ[ν] μπε· λιων ρων  
 12 ἀν π[ε] παχεϛ χε ῆῆ ναδ  
 13 ῆφωνε ῆμας· ρομως  
 14 †ϛι ραγω χε ῆπετῆςζει νη  
 15 ρ †νοϛ εωωπε ναμνε ε  
 16 μῆν ρογο φωνε ῆμας ε  
 17 ρε πῆωηρε ἀνδρεας σραϛτ  
 18 ῆνιρσοϛ εογῆ ωδαν ατρεϛ  
 19 ει ρωϛι ϛῤ ϛτοϛ ρρεϛ ρα  
 20 τηῖ ῆνιμα ῆ ῆτακ φυ  
 21 σεῖ νῆε/ μαρε νι/ογε ῆμωτῆ †  
 22 ραῖ ῆμαϛ εωωπε εμν  
 23 ογφωνε ῆμας ενωα

24 Ρ ΠΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΟ ΖΩΦ ΛΑ . . [ . ] .  
 25 ΚΕ ΤΗΝΑΔΩΝ[Τ]Η ΜΗ ΝΕΝ  
 26 ΕΡΗΥ ΤΑΡΠΙΧΙ ΖΗΤ ΑΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ  
 27 ΖΙ ΠΗΑΙΤ ΜΜΑΝ ΤΟΥΩΦ  
 28 ΕΙ . ΕΤ ΖΗ ΠΙΤΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ  
 29 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΣΩΩΝΕ ΝΑ  
 30 ΜΗΕ vac ΤΟΝΟΥ ΕΙΕ  
 31 ΖΩΒ ΝΗΙ ΤΑΧΥ ΤΑΝΟ ΧΕ  
 32 ΝΤΗΑΔΩ ΡΩΜΕ ΤΑΕΙ  
 33 ΑΖΡΗΙ Α ΠΣΑΝ ΖΩΥΗ ΑΠ  
 34 ΚΥΡΟΣ ΣΩΤ ΑΖΟΥΗ ΑΠ  
 35 ΩΦΝΕ ΠΩΜΑΙΤ ΠΕ ΕΜ  
 36 ΠΕΥΚΒΟ ΖΩΒ ΝΗΙ  
 vac  
 37 ΝΟΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΗ ΠΕΤΝΑ  
 38 Ν ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΗΤΗ ΕΡ  
 39 ρῶσθαί σε εὖχο  
 40 μαι πολλοῖς χρό  
 41 νοις κύριε ἀδελφέ

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9 ΩΩΝΕ: written around a pre-existing hole in the papyrus between Ω- and -Ω-? 30 Was the space left due to a fault in the papyrus already at the time of writing?

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To my master (and) brother Psais; (from) brother Theognostos, - greetings. I greet you warmly and the children, each one by their name, the large (5) and the small.

I am very astonished that you (pl.) did not honour me (enough) to write to me, either by way of Hom or by Hor; - especially about the woman who is ill, how she is? (10) Whether she was tending towards health or not? I have again asked Hom: He says that there is no great sickness for her. Nevertheless, I am concerned that you did not write to (15) me.

Now, truly, if there is no exceptional sickness for her: Is our son Andreas unoccupied these days? Is it possible for him to come (and) spend four days with (20) us here; or you, naturally? So, let one of you take

the trouble; if there is no sickness for her. If we spend the two days ... (25) we will be reunited with one another, so that we take heart (from) one another on the path! Otherwise, I want ... in five days. However, if she is truly very ill, (30) then send to me quickly and I will see whether I can find someone and come up. Also, brother Kyros himself has relapsed into (35) sickness. It is his path as he did not keep cool.

Send me any news by way of the one who will bring you (pl.) this letter. I pray for your health (40) for many years, master brother.

### **Commentary:**

7, 11 Hom: The same name is also found at **39**, 39 and **45**, 4.

17 Here Theognostos terms Andreas ‘our son’ (πῆωηρε), but their relationship to the other characters in the archive remains a problem. Certainly, P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 8-10 has Προσε[ί]πατε ἡμῖν τ[ὸ]ν κύριον ἀδελφὸν Θεόγνωστον καὶ [τ]ὸν υἱὸν Ἀνδρέαν, which - taken with the present text - suggests that he is indeed our author’s son. In **71**, 1-3 Pamour greets ‘my sister’ Partheni and ‘my son’ Andreas; in **73**, 4-5 Pegosh greets son Andreas and brother Theognostos; and in **79**, 4-6 he names brother Theognostos and brother Andreas. All of this might suggest that Partheni / Heni is the sister of the two brothers Pamour and Pegosh, that she is married to Theognostos and that the couple have a son Andreas. However, this all has to be balanced by the strong indications that Partheni is in fact Pegosh’s wife, especially **75**, 1-6 (where he names her as ‘my woman / wife’ τὰς 211ε). The best solution might be to suggest that Theognostos is Heni’s brother, but the problem remains about who might be Andreas’ mother.

20-21 This rather casual-seeming use of φύσει (‘naturally’) recalls **32**, 36. These are the only two instances in the Coptic archive, and the similarity encourages the hypothesis of a common authorship. The meaning is much the same as the English ‘of course’.

24 2ωε might be an unusual spelling for 2ω ‘suffice it’, but the reading is uncertain. It is not clear whether the apodosis answering the conditional should be found already here or rather in l. 25.

26 ΤΑΡῆΧΙ 2ΗΤ ΑΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ: lit. ‘so that we take heart to one another’; perhaps it means something like ‘so that we may enjoy each other’s company’?



27, 35 Theognostos seems rather fond of a metaphorical use of ‘path’ (μαῖτ). Again, this recalls the allusive style of 32 (though obviously the use of μαῖτ in l. 11 there itself is different).

### LETTERS FROM AND TO PLOUTOGENES

There is a person named Ploutogenes who belongs to the same main group of characters we have identified as ‘Pamour and his circle’, and who have dominated the documents in volume 2 to this point. This is apparent from 86 where he writes to Pshai, greets Pegosh and Andreas, and mentions dealings with Kapiton. Letter 85 is also sent from Ploutogenes to Pshai and probably written by the same hand. Interestingly, the two documents have a somewhat different style: Whereas 86 is rather matter-of-fact, 85 is elaborate in its greetings and their style strongly suggests that the author is a Manichaean believer. N.B. On the basis of the hand alone one might suppose that 106 is also by Ploutogenes, but we have not placed it here as there are no other obvious connections and the author is not named.

The relationship of this first pair to the other letters we have included here become more problematic, and the unity of authorship is open to question. There is also an issue about abbreviations of the name. It is necessary to explain our logic in grouping all these pieces and to note the problems. We can start with the important and lengthy piece 90, in which a certain Psekes writes to Ploutogenes according to the address, whilst the letter itself opens with a greeting to Iena. Consequently, we have supposed that Iena / Gena will be an abbreviation of this name. Further, a reference to a certain ‘Soure’ in 90, 39 has encouraged us to restore Ploutogenes’ name in the fragment numbered 87, as Soure appears there also (and nowhere else in the archive). However, whether it is the same person in this second pair of letters (87, 90) as the first (85, 86) is not secure.

To turn now to 89, this piece is written by a Piena according to the address, but the author introduces himself as Ploutogenes in the body of the letter. He also greets his brother Plotogenes (presumably this is just a simple writing error or phonetic spelling of the same

name) and Hor. This suggests that Piena is a further variant of the name, and also links the name to that of Hor (whilst introducing the problem of there being two characters called Ploutogenes or similar). This then leads to **88**, where a Piena writes to Andreas; this could be same author as the Ploutogenes of **86** who greets Andreas. Finally, we have included here **91**, where an unknown author writes to 'Iena and Hor'.

It is apparent that we could well be dealing with more than one person. The following references should also be taken into account: At **118**, 5 is found 'Pshai and Iena Hor ...' (should it be <and> Hor?), whilst in P. Kellis I Gr. 75 there is a greeting to 'Psais and Ploutogenes and Hor' and in **36**, 10 (a letter written to Psais and Andreas) there is a greeting to the brothers Iena and [Hor (?)]. In **115** Tegoshe writes to Pshai, and at l. 12 greets the children Maria, Piena and Hor; this letter is carried by Andreas. From all this it is apparent that two brothers named Ploutogenes / Iena and Hor are frequently named together, and often found in close association to Pshai and Andreas. Again, in **105** Psais writes to Andreas. Here he sends greetings from Piena and Hor, whilst there are also greetings to (?) a 'father Iena'. One might also note **80**, 38 where Plousiane greets Iena, and **19** where there are a number of references to Gena; but probably in **61**, where the Teacher writes to a Ploutogenios (note spelling), we are dealing with a different person.

We are unable to resolve all these issues to complete satisfaction, but nevertheless have grouped **85-91** together both for convenience of reference and because it is clear that a good proportion of them must belong to the main group of characters that have been made known by the previous letters in this volume. However, we do not think that Piene, the brother of Matthaïos and a member of Makarios' family (see volume 1), is the same person.

**P. Kellis Copt. 85****Inv #:** A/5/1**Location:** House 3, room 2, level 1 north-east corner.

**Preservation:** 1 papyrus fragment from the upper part of a letter, written by a very fine hand in Coptic, and now breaking along the central vertical fold. From the placing of the name on the verso it seems likely that we have a quarter of the original document. The surviving dimensions are 40 x 81 mm.; but the original was probably approximately 160 x 81 mm. The papyrus has been reused, with clear traces of the previous text visible on both the recto and (especially) the verso. The hand is similar to some others; note (e.g.) the very distinctive long  $\epsilon$ . In particular, **86** (also from Ploutogenes to Pshai) may well be by the same scribe; and one should also compare **106** (an unknown author to Lammon).

**Content:** Ploutogenes writes to Pshai and others whose names are not preserved. In **86** he greets Pegosh and Andreas, and it is probable that here too he is addressing a number of the men residing in Kellis whose names are familiar to us from the previous groups of letters by Pamour and his circle (e.g. **65** from Pamour to Pegosh, Pshai, Theognostos and Andreas). In this instance, only the elaborate opening formula of the letter survives, which may be taken as typical of the ‘Manichaean’ style. We know nothing about the content of the letter, which is now lost.

**Address:**

verso

[..... X Π]λουτογένης

[To Pshai (?). X (From)] Ploutogenes.

**Names:** Ploutogenes; Pshai; Tapshai;

**Text:**

r1      ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΝΑΧΙΣΑΥΕ ΕΤΑΪ Ν̄ΤΟΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ  
 2.      ΝΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΡ̄ΠΜΕΥΕ ΤΑΒΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΑΨΥΧΗ Ν̄ΝΕΥ  
 3      ΝΙΜ' ΝΕΤΟΥΗΥ ΜΕΝ Ν̄ΜΑΪ Ζ̄Ν ΠΣΩΜΑ ΕΥ  
 4      ΖΗΝ ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΣ Ν̄ΤΑΓΑΠΗ Ν̄ΑΤΨΙΒΕ  
 5      ΑΝΗΖΕ: Ν̄ΖΛΔΗΤ Ν̄ΓΝΗΣΙΟΣ Ν̄ΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ  
 6      Ν̄ΩΒΕΡ Ν̄ΑΤΠΩΝΕ: ΝΑΣΝΗΥ Ν̄ΜΕΡΕΤΕ ΕΤΑΪ  
 7      Ν̄[Τ]̄Ν̄ [Τ]ΑΨΥΧΗ ΠΩ[Δ]̄Ϊ Μ̄Ν̄ . . . . .

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tr(x+)8 ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΪ ΑΤΡΑΟΥΗ [

9      vac      ΤΑΠΨΑΪ [

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 4 Ν̄ΑΤΨΙΒΕ: -Τ- ex corr.
 

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My brothers, my masters who are very precious to me: They whose memory is sealed in my soul at all times, though they are far from me in the body yet they are near in the state of never changing love; (5) sweet, true, people-loving; the immutable comrades; my beloved brothers who are precious to my soul: Pshai and ...

-----

(tr) Greet the neighbourhood for me ... Tapshai ...

**Commentary:**

3-4 The recurring theme of being ‘far, yet near’ is typical of Manichaean letters in the archive (see the references at **63**, 15-16), and may well be derived from Mani’s own style (note the quotation from him at **19**, 9-10 and the way it is picked up by Makarios later in that letter at ll. 69-70). In general, Ploutogenes’ elaborate greetings recall those of known Manichaean authors such as Matthaios and Piene (thus the openings of **25**, **26** and **29**). Whilst the virtues of ἀγάπη and so on are in a broad sense simply Christian, there is something very distinctive about this epistolary style.

**P. Kellis Copt. 86****Inv #:** P17Vi**Location:** House 3, room 10, level 3. The document was found 'associated with a keg'.**Preservation:** This is a fine, complete letter written in Coptic on papyrus. It was recovered in a single piece, with just a small amount of deterioration evident at the top. The centre fold is apparent, and the dimensions are 136 x 60 mm. The hand is very similar to that of **85**, and we think that both the author and the scribe are the same.**Content:** In **85** Ploutogenes wrote to Pshai very much in the Manichaean style. This piece is more matter-of-fact, but probably that is simply because it is a brief note to try and sort out an overdue payment to Kapiton for some oil. It is not entirely clear to us whether Pshai is at fault for failing to settle the bill, or Kapiton for failing to provide the goods.**Address:**

verso

κυρίῳ μου      X      Ψάϊτι  
 ἀδελφῶ                      ὁ ἀδελφός

To my master brother X Psais. (From) the brother.

**Names:** Andreas; Pshai; Ploutogenes; Kapiton; Pegosh;**Text:**

- 1 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΑΧΔΙΣ ΠΩΛΙ
- 2 ΔΝΑΚ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ
- 3 †ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΖΝ ΠΧΔΙΣ
- 4 †ΩΙΝΕ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΔΤΚΜΝΤΣΑΝ
- 5 ΕΤΕΝΙΤ ΗΝΝΙΣΩΣ †ΡΑΖΙΟΥ

6 ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓϸ ϫⲉⲕⲁ  
 7 ϣⲱⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲕⲁⲡⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ  
 8 ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲡⲕⲟⲩϸ ⲥⲛⲉϥ ⲛ̅  
 9 ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ  
 10 ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉϥⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϩϫⲟϸ  
 11 ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ ⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲛ̅  
 12 ⲛ̅ϸⲁ ϓⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲕⲟϥⲓ ⲛ̅ϓⲟⲟϥ ϓⲛ̅  
 13 ⲡⲡⲁϸϫⲁ †ⲛⲟϥ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲓϸ ⲕⲉⲉ  
 14 ⲃⲁⲧ ⲥⲛⲉϥⲁ ⲕⲣⲱⲱⲉ ⲟϥⲛ ⲡⲁ  
 15 ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̅ⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̅ϓⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ  
 16 ⲁⲧⲣⲉϩϸⲃⲧⲱⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲱⲁ  
 17 ⲥⲟϥⲉ ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ⲛ̅ϸⲁ ⲡⲓ  
 18 ϓⲟⲟϥ ⲥⲛⲉϥ ϫⲉ †ⲛ̅ⲏϥ ⲁϓⲣⲏⲓ  
 19 ⲉϸⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲟϥⲛ̅  
 20 ⲟϥⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ  
 21 ⲛ̅ⲏⲓ ⲁⲡϸⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲃⲱⲱ ⲧⲟ  
 22 ⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲁϸ ⲉ̅ⲣⲣ(ⲱⲥⲟ)

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7 ϣⲱⲱ appears struck out, but erroneously 10 ⲁⲣⲓ: perhaps corrected to ⲉⲣⲓ?

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My brother, my master Pshai: I, Ploutogenes, I greet you in the Lord.

I greet your good brotherliness warmly. (5) Further: I beg you, my brother (and) my master, to settle with Kapiton about the matter of the two *choes* of oil; for my need is great. (10) Remember that he said to me: “Yes, yes; a few days after Easter”. But now it is already another two months. Can you therefore settle (15) with him, my loved one, in some way; so that he makes them ready for me by the 1st of Paope, two days from now? For I am coming up. If not, it (20) will be at fault.

Greet brother Pegosh warmly for me, and Andreas. Farewell.

**Commentary:**

13 The reference to Easter is of some interest, presuming that these people are all Manichaeans; but see also **22**, 18 and P. Harr. I 107 for documentary evidence that the festival was celebrated by the community. Augustine (*c. Epist. Fund.* 8) remarks that it was attended only by a few half-hearted worshippers with no special fast prescribed for the hearers. However, he also comments that the *bema* festival was held at the same time.

17 ΠΠΑΔΠΕ: perhaps read ΠΠΑΩΝΕ (cf. ll. 13f., time elapsed since Easter?), the tenth month of the year. Παοπε is the second month, whilst Easter usually falls in the eighth (Parmoute); and thus some emendation seems to be required.

ⲙⲏⲏⲤⲁ ⲡⲓⲒⲐⲐⲮ ⲤⲎⲈⲮ: lit. 'after these two days'.

19-20 ⲐⲮⲎ ⲐⲮⲁⲣⲓⲕⲈ ⲎⲁⲱⲱⲡⲈ: '.. it will be at fault', or perhaps '.. there will be blame'.

**P. Kellis Copt. 87**

**Inv #:** P 32

**Location:** House 3, room 1, deposit 1 south doorway.

**Preservation:** A small fragment of a letter written in Coptic on papyrus, with the opening formula in Greek. All that remains is a strip from the centre of the first seven lines, and a substantial upper margin is apparent. Our reconstruction of the opening formula suggests that the width of the piece was relatively narrow and the lines short; but a more elaborate text might well be possible. The verso is blank.

**Content:** Ploutogenes writes to father Soure. Presumably the latter's name (in Greek) was Σύρος. The archive evidences many similar examples of this feature of Coptic texts (e.g. Zosime or Theognoste at **80**, 38), most probably derived from the spoken vocative form.

**Address:** None preserved.

**Names:** Ploutogenes; Soure / Syros;

**Text:**

- 1 [τῶι δε]σπό[τ]η μ[ου καὶ]  
 2 [τιμι]ωτάτωι [πατρὶ]  
 3 [Σύρ]φι Πλου[τ]ο[γένης]  
 4 [vac ἐν] κ(υρί)φ χαίρ[ειν]  
 5 [παῖ]ωτ σογρε . [ . . . . . ]  
 6 [ . . . . . ] αἴτσεβ[ο . . . . . ]  
 7 [ . . . . . ] . ογϛ π[ε[ . . . . . ]

To my my master and honoured father Syros; (from) Ploutogenes, - greetings in the Lord.

(5) To my father Soure / Syros: ... I have taught ...

**Commentary:**

5 Soure (with Ploutogenes) may connect this piece to **90** (see l. 39). This person is not found elsewhere in the Coptic letters from House 3, although there are a number of references to the name Syros in the Greek documents.

**P. Kellis Copt. 88**

**Inv #:** P 56C

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.

**Preservation:** There remains a left hand strip from a papyrus letter, written in Coptic by a crude hand. The original would have been about twice the width, but the surviving length may be complete. The address has been written by a different hand. The piece should be compared to **89**.



**Content:** Piena writes to Andreas. The letter seems to be little more than a series of greetings, many of which are to women. We have included the piece here on the hypothesis that the author is Ploutogenes, corresponding both to the abbreviation of the name Piena in **89** and a tentative reading of his full name in line 5. However, it remains most uncertain as to whether this is the same person as in the previous pieces, and indeed impossible if the fine hand of **85** and **86** is that of the author himself. Still, there is certainly an Andreas amongst his circle.

**Address:**

verso

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶι X Ἄνδρέα Πίενα ὁ  
ἀδελφός σου

To my master brother X Andreas. X (From) Piena your brother.

**Names:** Andreas; Κερ[itou] (?); Lio[u-]; Lo; Ol[binos] (?); Philammon; Piena / Ploutogenes (?); -na; -ne;

**Text:**

1 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΑ[ΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΤΑΪ Ν̄]  
2 ΤΟΤ ΤΟΝΟ[Υ ΠΨΟΥΜΕΪΕ]  
3 Ν̄ΤΑΨΥ[ΧΗ Μ̄ ΠΤΑΛΗΛ Μ̄]  
4 ΠΑΖΗΤ [ΔΗΛΑΚ ΠΛΟΥ]  
5 ΤΟΥΕΝΗΨ [ . . . . . Ψ]  
6 ΝΕ ΔΚΕΠ[ΙΤΟΥ . . . . . ]  
7 ΤΑΧΑΪΣ ΤΑ[ . . . . . ]  
8 ΜΕΡΙΤ . ΟΥ[ . . . . . ]  
9 ΑΤΑΜΟ ΤΑ[ . . . . . ΤΕΤΕ]  
10 ΡΕ ΠΕΣΡΕΝ [ΖΑΛΔ ΤΟΝΟΥ Ζ̄Ν]  
11 ΡΩΪ ΗΤΟΥ [ . . . . . ]  
12 ΠΕ . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
13 ΤΑΜΟ ΛΙΟΥ[ . . . . . ]  
14 ΗΑΤΑΛΑ . [ . . . . . ]

- 15 ΤΑΜΟ ΛΟ . [ . . . . . ] ΨΗ]
- 16 ΡΕ Μ̄Ν Η[ . . . . . ]
- 17 ΝΑ Μ̄Ν [ . . . . . ]
- 18 ΝΕ Μ̄Ν ΦΙΛ[ΑΜΜΩΝ . . . . ]
- 19 Μ̄Ν ΤΑΜΟ Τ[ . . . . . ]
- 20 ΧΙ †ΧΗΛΩ [ . . . . . ]
- 21 ΟΜΗΖ Μ . [ . ]Θ[ . . . . . ]
- 22 ΤΑΜΟ ΤΑ[ . . . . . ]
- 23 ΤΙ Δ̄ΤΩΡΩ [ . . . . . ]
- 24 ΝΟΜ̄ΝΑ ΟΛ[ΒΙΝΟC ΨΙΝΕ]
- 25 ΑΡΩΤ̄Ν ΤΟ[ΝΟΥ ΨΙΝΕ ΤΑ]
- 26 ΜΟ ΛΟ Μ̄Ν [ . . . . . ]
- 27 [ . ] . . Μ̄Ν . [ . . . . . ]
- 28 [ . . . ] Δ̄ Μ̄Ν ΠΑ[ . . . . . ]
- (tr)29 [ . . . . ] . . . Δ̄ΒΑΛ . . . . . ΝΩΑΤΗ ΛΟ Μ̄Ν Τ̄CΨΗ[Ε . . . . . ]
- 30 [ . . . . ] . . . . ΝΟ . ΧΕ . . . . .

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17 ΝΑ: -Δ ex corr. 29 Τ̄CΨΗ[Ε: -C̄- ex corr.

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My brother, my [loved one who is] very [precious] to me, [the beloved] of my soul [and the joy of] my heart. [(It is) I], (5) Ploutogenes, [who greets] Kepitou (?). [I greet] my lady, my loved ... [I greet] my mother ... whose (10) name [is very sweet in] my mouth ... my mother Liou- ... (15) my mother Lo ... her children and her ... -na and ... -ne and Philammon and my mother ...

(20) Take this cloth bag ... it is full of ... my mother ... I have been upright (?) ... Olbinos (?) [greet] (25) you warmly. [Greet my] mother Lo and ... and ... and my ...

(tr) ... except Lo and her sister ...

**Commentary:**

1-5 The style of the opening has been reconstructed from the typical style of these pieces, but particularly that of **89**. These two letters by Piena should be carefully compared, noting particularly the many women greeted in both.

24 If it is correct to read Olbinos here, it would relate this document to **111**.

**P. Kellis Copt. 89**

**Inv #:** P 95B

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3.<sup>15</sup>

**Preservation:** This is a letter written in Coptic on papyrus, which was found complete in one piece (with even the tie intact). The dimensions are 200 x 50 mm. Whilst there is some abrasion and smudging, virtually the entire text is secure. The hand appears rather slow and less confident than many of the professionally written pieces in the archive. The document should be compared to **88**, and it is possible that the two pieces were written by the same scribe.

**Content:** Piena (= Ploutogenes) writes to Tabes; although in the letter itself he first addresses Shinnoute. As with **88**, the document is little more than a series of greetings and names, many of which are to women. It may well be that the author of this pair of letters is different from that of **85** and **86**. Certainly, the hands contrast markedly.

**Address:**

verso

τῆ κυρία μου μητρὶ X Τάβης· Πίενα

To my lady mother X Tabes. (From) Piena.

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<sup>15</sup> There appears to be no individual record for the find site of P 95B. However, the location is presumed to be the same as that of P 95, which is therefore given here.

**Names:** Hor x 2; Jmsho; Lampe; Martha; Nos, son of Tiola (?); Pena; Philammon; Piena / Ploutogenes; Plotogenes; Shai; Shanona; Shinnoute / Shaino(u)ta / Shennou(te); Tabes; Tahor;

**Text:**

- 1        ρΙΘΗ Ν̄ϚΩΒ ΜΙΝ ΤΙϚϚΕΙ
- 2        ΔΙΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΑϚΑΝ ΠΑ
- 3        ΧΑΙϚ Ν̄ΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΤΑΙ
- 4        Ν̄ΤΟΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΠΨΟΥΜΕΙ
- 5        Ν̄ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΠΟΥΡΑΤ
- 6        Ν̄ΠΑΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΠΤΑ
- 7        ΛΗΛ Ν̄ΠΑϚΗΤ ΔΗΑΚ
- 8        ΠΛΟΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΕ
- 9        ΤϚϚΕΙ Ν̄ΠΕϚΑΝ
- 10        ΨΙΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΙ
- 11        ΝΕ ΑΤΑΜΟ ΤΑΒΗΣ
- 12        Μ̄Ν ΤΑΜΟ ΠΕΝΑ
- 13        Μ̄Ν ΤΑΜΟ ΜΑΡΘΑ
- 14        Μ̄Ν ΤΑϚΩΡ Μ̄Ν ΛΑΜ
- 15        ΠΕ Μ̄Ν Χ̄ΝΨΩ
- 16        Μ̄Ν ΤϚΩΝΕ
- 17        ΨϚϚΕΙ ΔΙΨΙΝΕ
- 18        ΑΠΑϚΑΝ ΠΛΟΤΟ
- 19        ΓΕΝΗΣ Μ̄Ν ϚΩΡ
- 20        Μ̄Ν ΤΕϚΜΟ Μ̄Ν
- 21        ΤΕϚϚΩΝΕ
- 22        ϚΩΡ ΨΙΝΕ ΔΡΩ
- 23        Τ̄Ν ΤΟΝΟΥ Ν̄ϚΟ
- 24        ΤΕvacηϚΟ ΠΑϚΑΝ
- 25        ΨΑΙΝϚ̄ΤΑ ΨΙΝΕ
- 26        ΝΗΙ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΠΑ

27     CΑΝ ΦΙΛΑΜΜΟΝ  
 28     MĪ ΠΑCΑΝ ΨΑΪ  
 29     ΑΝCΩΤΗ ΔΕ  
 30     ΧΕ ΖΑΤ̄N̄ΧΙ Ζ̄N̄  
 31     ΔΟΥΪ N̄ΖΙCΕ  
 32     ΖΑΝCΩΤ̄N̄ ΔΝ ΧΕ  
 33     ΖΑ ΤΑΜΟ ΠΕΝΑ  
 34     ΧΙ Ζ̄N̄ΖΙCΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 35     ΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΙΝ  
 36     ΑΤΕΤ̄N̄ΟΥΑΩCΙ  
 37     N̄NIMΑ ΧΙ †  
 38     ΧΗΛΔΑ ΝΕΚ  
 39     ΠΑCΑΝ ΨΕΝΝΟΥ  
 40     ΝΤΟΤCΙ N̄NOC  
 41     N̄ΤΙΩΛΑ †P̄  
 42     ΨΠΗΡΕ ΓΑΡ  
 43     ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΕΥ  
 tr44    M̄ΠΕΤNOCΙ N̄H̄I N̄ΠΕΤ̄N̄ΟΥΧΕΪΤΕ ΨΑΝΩΝΑ ΨΙΝΕ ΔΡΩΤ̄N̄ ΤΗP̄T̄N̄ Ζ̄N̄ ΠΧΔΙC

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1 and 35 MIN: sic, for NIM 38 ΧΗΛΔΑ: -H- and -Δ ex corr.

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Before everything: I write greeting my brother, my loved master who is very precious to me, the beloved (5) of my soul, the gladness of my spirit (and) the joy of my heart. (It is) I, Ploutogenes, who writes to his brother (10) Shinnoute. I greet my mother Tabes, and my mother Pena and my mother Martha and Tahor and Lampe (15) and Jmsho and the sister. I write greeting my brother Plotogenes and Hor (20) and his mother and his sister.

Hor greets you (pl.) warmly, face to face (?). My brother (25) Shaino(u)ta: Greet for me warmly my brother Philammon and my brother Shai.

Now, we have heard (30) that you have suffered a few troubles. We also heard that mother Pena has suffered nothing but trouble. (35) For anything you might want from here (just ask). Take this cloth bag

for you, my brother Shenou, (40) from Nos (son of?) Tiola. And I wonder why (tr) you did not write to me about your well-being? Shanona greets you all in the Lord.

### Commentary:

1 The abrupt start is rather odd, in that this formula ('Before everything') commonly follows the standard opening greetings that conclude with  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ . Here, the letter has begun with what is really the second element.

$\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ : The scribe uses both  $\tau\iota$ - and  $\tau$ - (ll. 10, 17, etc.).

18-19 Plotogenes: a phonetic spelling variant for Ploutogenes. The coupling of the name with that of Hor reminds one of the various instances of 'Iena and Hor' in the archive (see the introduction to this group of letters). In any case, this seems to be clear evidence that there were at least two persons named Ploutogenes or similar. Given the various possible abbreviations to Piena, Iena or Gena, it is certainly difficult to separate the characters represented.

22-28 It seems that Hor (not the same as in l. 19) now adds his greetings to those of Piena / Ploutogenes. Since he greets Philammon and Shai it is possible that these are the same as the Philammon and Theognostos (= Louishai or Shai) we have met a number of times before in close association with a Hor.

23-24  $\eta\zeta\omicron|\tau\epsilon\text{vac}\eta\zeta\omicron$ : This seems to be an abbreviated version of the 'until face greets face' formula ( $\omega\lambda\tau\epsilon\ \zeta\omicron\ \omicron\gamma\omega\psi\tau\ \zeta\omicron$ ). Perhaps, if  $\tau\epsilon$  is for  $\Delta\epsilon$ , one could simply translate 'but face to face'? See also *IKeph.* 206: 17  $[\bar{\eta}]\zeta\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\ \zeta\omicron$  and 235: 16  $\bar{\eta}\zeta\omicron\ \zeta\iota\ \zeta\omicron$ ; 2Jo. 12 and 3Jo. 14.

25  $\omega\lambda\iota\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\lambda$ : It might also be possible to read  $\omega\eta\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\lambda$ . Either way, it is clearly intended to refer to the same person named  $\omega\eta\eta\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$  in l. 10 and  $\omega\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$  in l. 39.

34 The use of  $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$  here, with an indefinitely determined noun phrase, must mean something like 'nothing but ..'. There may be a deliberate contrast to the 'few troubles' of l. 31. Here (and in l. 30) we have translated  $\times\iota$  'receive' as 'suffer'.

35-37 We imagine that what is intended is the common sentiment: 'Anything you want from here, tell me and I will do it gladly' (e.g. 35, 48).

39  $\omega\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ : This looks like  $\eta\epsilon\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ , but we think that Piena has intended  $\omega\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ , i.e. the name of his addressee (cf. l. 10).

40-41 Nos: The name (like a number of others in this letter) is not otherwise found in the Coptic documents from Kellis. However, it does occur in the KAB (ll. 660 etc.). It is unclear whether Tiola is his father's name or a toponym. It is rather strange, presuming that we have read it correctly. There is also a Tola (Τωλα) in the KAB (ll. [[1073]], 1649), though with no obvious connection to Nos. See further the comments at 90, 5.

### P. Kellis Copt. 90

**Inv #:** P 27A/B + P 64A + P 81D

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposits 2 + 3 + 4.

**Preservation:** This is a lengthy and proficiently written Coptic letter on papyrus. There now remains from the upper part a main fragment and four smaller pieces joining it (in the photograph these are not placed exactly), to the height of 94 mm. The lower half is complete in height from what we imagine to be the central fold to the bottom (128 mm.), although now beginning to break up. This would indicate an original height of 256 mm.; with about 34 mm. missing from the upper half, or approximately 6 lines of text. The document is also lacking a strip all the way down the left hand side, of approximately 2 letters per line. One can calculate an original width with margin of ca. 90 mm., of which up to 84 mm. remains at places. All the fragments certainly belong to the one letter, although in parts the ink has a distinct reddish colour that contrasts with the black elsewhere. Probably this is the result of the conditions of preservation.

**Content:** Psekes writes to his father Ploutogenes, whom he names as Iena in l. 3. The author is in the Nile valley, probably in Aphrodite (cf. l. 37), from where he is writing to Kellis. Timotheos travels between the locations. The majority of the letter is about the details of some complicated dispute, but includes unusual and interesting terminology. Despite the fact that Pseke seems to make a number of writing errors, his style is educated and he uses Greek words not usually found in these letters.

**Address:**

verso

τῶι κυρίῳι μου π(ατ)ρὶ X Πλουτογένης  
 Ψεκῆς ὁ υἱὸς σου  
 To my lord father X Ploutogenes. (From) Psekēs, your son.

**Names:** Iena / Ploutogenes; Paias; Pseke; Soure; Timotheos;

**Text:**

- 1 [παῖωτ πα]χαῖς εἶται ἄτοτ τονοῦ πῶου  
 2 [με]ἰε νταῖγχι ἡν παπνεῦμα παῖωτ  
 3 [π]αχαῖς ἰενα ἡν πασαν ἡμεριτ παῖας  
 4 [αν]ακ ψεκε πετῶινε αρωτῆ 2ῆ πχαῖς  
 5 [ἡ]τῶρε πῆσαν τιμοθεος εἰ ψαραν ἀρεῶε  
 6 [τ]ονοῦ νε 2αμαῖ νε 2ωττηνε πετατετῆ  
 7 [εἰ] ἀκῆμε τῆοῦωῶτ πῆτῆ2ο ἡκεσαπ 2ῆ  
 8 [π]ῶωμε καθῆτῶ 2ῆ πῶῆῶῶ ἡεπιστολη  
 9 [αἰ]τῆῆαγσοῦ ἡητνε χωρις 2ῆο ἡπῆτῆς  
 10 [2]ῆῆ ἡητνε ἀνη2ε αγω αἰ2ιςε ἡῆ τιμο  
 11 [θε]ος κε ρι ογλαγε ρχιτῶ νεγῶ2ε παχεϋ  
 12 [x]ε ἡπε ἡβαρα2ε ἀπτ ἀϋτ ἡσαγνε γαρ  
 13 [πα]ῖωτ ἡτκῆῆτῶειρηνη κε μῶε ἡἡμ  
 14 [αν] εἶεῆτῶκε ψῶκῶῆκαϋ †  
 15 [ . . . . . ]νετῆ [ετ]βε πσεχε ἡ[ . . . ]  
 16 [ . . . . . ]ἡς2εῖ . [ . . . . . ]  
*approx. 6 lines missing*  
 23 [ . . . ] 2αραῖ ἡ[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] εἰψῶε .  
 24 [ . . ]εῆτῆῆεῖε ἡ . . οῦ . ἀτϋ ἀβαλ τῆτῆῆρωε  
 25 [ . . ]γ ἡῆ οῦςια 2ῆ τῆῆῆτῆε ἀμῶε 2ιωϋ ἡῆ  
 26 [ . . ]ἡχρια ἡογλακ ἡςναϋ ἀψαλῶ ἀβαλ μα  
 27 [ . . ]ε ἡτεμῶε ἡῆνεγερῆγ εἶρ ἀρνε εν κε αἰ  
 28 [χι] ψαμτῆ ἡ2ολοκοτινοϋ 2ῆτῆῆτῆνε †δῆλ ἀβαλ



29 [ . . ] εἶψατε τετῆογωψ ζωῆ ατζομολογια ετα  
 30 [τετ]ῆςμῆτς ζωῆ †ἡα† πσαγ ἡζολοκοτινος  
 31 [τα]χι πεφιμεροϋ ασωζε αρετῆ ἡταϋ χε †  
 32 [ἡα]† πσαγ ἡζολοκοτινος ταχι πμερος ετῆ  
 33 [τεϋ] χε ἀϋ[ο] ἡαλλοτριον εψωπε μμην πψοϋ  
 34 [μεῖ]ε φηατεεϋ μν νενερηγ εψασβωκ αφιϋ  
 35 [ . . ] ἡ . . . ϋ[ζ]ἡμε ἡτωτνε πε νεμεϋ μῆτε . .  
 36 [ . . ] ἀκ . . . ἡἡι ψαντταδῆ ζολοκοτινος εαῖ  
 37 [ . . ] εἰϋ χουτεϋτε ἡραμπε χῆταῖει ἀφρ  
 38 [ . . ] . . . . παφοϋω ἡἡαγ ἀνηζε εϋτων  
 39 [ . . ] χῆταπασαν ϋοϋρε ει ἀκημε ασϋι πσαγ ἡ  
 40 [ζολ]οκοτινος ασῆ πσαγ ἡζολοκοτινος ασκα  
 41 [ . . ] . λἡ παχεϋ χε ἡμο πιϋαγ ἡζολοκοτινος κα  
 42 [τα τζομ]ολογια παχεϋ νεϋ χε μμο ἡροϋῆ  
 43 [τοϋ] ἡἡι ἀκημε παχεϋ ἡἡι χε †ο ἡαλλοτρι  
 44 [ον] χε ἀπα †ερε ἡϋανψοπ  
 45 ωνη ἡτεοϋχειτε [ . ] . .

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6 ΝΕ ΖΩΤΤΗΝΕ sic; read either ΝΕ <ἡτωτνε> ΖΩΤΤΗΝΕ (omission through homoioteleuton) or <ἡτωτ>ΝΕ ΖΩΤΤΗΝΕ 9 χωριϋ: -ι- ex corr.; ζῆϋ: -ο- ex corr.; ἡἡετῆϋ[ζ]εῖ: ἡ- ex corr. 10 ΝΗΤΝΕ sic; read ἡἡῖ (cf. 81, 13) 27 ἡτε- sic; read ἡϋε- 28 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΙΝΟΣ: -ι- ex -ο- corr. 38 εϋτων: εϋ- ex corr. and very uncertain 45 ἡτε- sic; read (?) ἡτε<τῆ>-

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[My father, my] master who is very precious to me, the beloved of my soul and my spirit: My father, my master, Iena; and my loved brother Paia. I, Pseke, am the one who greets you in the Lord.

(5) When our brother Timotheos came to us, we rejoiced greatly. Would that it had been <you> yourselves who had come to Egypt, that we might adore your face once again in the body. You will find it in the ... letter. I have sent them to you without obligation (?). You did (10) never write to <me>, and I had trouble with Timotheos (when I asked him to) take something and bring it to the Oasis. He said: "The caravan-

drivers did not allow me to carry (anything)". For I know, my father, your peace-making; that any fight you are having you are able to calm down. (15) ... about the matter of ... write ... [ ... (20) ... ]

... me ... if you (pl.) love ... you (pl.) are responsible (25) for them (?). There is no substance between us to fight over. There is no need for a cup of blood to flow! ... and <they> can fight with one another. I am not denying that I have [received] 3 *holokottinoi* from you. I am turned around! If you want to enforce the agreement that (30) you set, (then) demand (it). I will give the 6 *holokottinoi* [and] assume his (?) share. But she is steadfast. For I [will] give the 6 *holokottinoi* and assume the share that is [his (?)], because she is not liable. If (we do) otherwise, beloved one, he will (have to?) pay it (himself) with our friends. Should she go to ... (35) ... woman. It is you (pl.) and her ... until I can find (some?) *holokottinoi*, as I have ...

It is already twenty-four years since I came to Aphr(odite?), ... (n)ever. ... since my brother Soure came to Egypt. She took the 6 (40) *holokottinoi*. She brought (?) the 6 *holokottinoi*. She has ... She said: "Take these 6 *holokottinoi* according to the agreement". She said to him: "Take [them], let them be brought to me in Egypt". He said to me: "I am not liable, since Apa Pseke (will pay for me?)". (45) Live and be well [for me (?)].

### Commentary:

Address        The central 'cross' is drawn more elaborately than usual and resembles a flower or similar.

5        The same phrasing about Timotheos occurs in one of the 'Petros' letters at **39**, 5-6. Indeed, there is a general similarity in the language about these two persons, when they are said to come from one place to another (see Petros throughout **38-40**). It is tempting to identify them with the two named Manichaean monks in the KAB (thus P. Kellis IV Gr. 96, ll. 975, 1080 etc.), also a Petros and a Timotheos; especially when one considers the itinerant lifestyle. Support for this might come from the reference to a Nos at **89**, 40-41; given that Timotheos the monk has a brother with that unusual name. However, the Nos and Timotheos of the KAB have a father named Kome. Another way to understand Timotheos' occupation here would be as directly involved in the transport business: When he comes they are glad, because he brings letters and other items. See perhaps **92** for Timotheos and the caravans.

8        Π̄ΑΓ̄C̄C̄ N̄EΠICTOΛH: Here is found one continuous long supralinear stroke, possibly indicating some sort of abbreviation or encoded insider usage. One way to speculate about the sense of this is to suppose that Pseke is giving a reference or authority

for what he has just said, i.e. that ‘we might adore your face once again in the body’. It is reasonable to suppose that the phrase is a quotation or allusion, for very similar phrasing occurs elsewhere (e.g. **35**, 25 and see **82**, 7-8 note ad loc. with further references). Of course, it recalls 2Jo. 12 and 3Jo. 13-14; but the contexts in this archive are Manichaean and so the reference might be to one of Mani’s *Epistles*. See perhaps the text quoted in W. Sundermann, ‘A Manichaean Collection of Letters and a List of Mani’s Letters in Middle Persian’, op. cit., 2009: 273 ‘.. that I myself with corporeal eyes might see’. If this is correct, then it would be most interesting to understand what may here be some kind of abbreviated title. Certainly, there are many Greek words beginning αγ- that might be appropriate; but it is difficult to understand the construction and perhaps the problem needs a different approach. What appears to be a masc. article is strange, but one must compare **19**, 82 where there is a similar problem (and in that instance undoubtedly referring to Mani’s *Epistles*). Here, the initial λ- of the abbreviation could otherwise be λ- (to read λ̄ϛ̄ϛ̄).

However, to think about it differently, perhaps more weight should be given to κλδ̄η̄ϛ̄ as indicating an abrupt transition to more worldly matters, a formula meaning ‘Please find attached x’ (i.e. rather than referring to the preceding pious sentiment). The prepositional phrase would then hint at some sort of ‘epistolary attachment’ and this would fit seamlessly with what follows in l. 9. But what was indicated by the abbreviation remains unknown to us.

9 Presuming it is correct to read ρ̄η̄ϛ̄, one has to decide whether it refers to a material receptacle for what Pseke has sent, or whether its meaning here is abstract. The translation given reflects the latter. Further, it is unclear what Pseke has in fact sent to Iena. Given our discussion of the previous line *supra*, perhaps it was indeed a volume of Mani’s *Epistles*; after all, Makarios requests the same at **19**, 82-83.

26 ΟΥΛΛΑΚ̄ ϛ̄ϛ̄η̄ϛ̄ ‘a cup of blood’: The reading is clear enough; presumably it is a kind of colloquial saying equivalent to the English phrase, ‘there’s no need to spill blood over it’.

29 Soure: i.e. Syros, see further **87**.

29, 30 ρ̄η̄η̄: It appears that Pseke repeats the verb (‘bid’, ‘command’) to emphasise his point. Our translation is a little loose in order to convey what we think must be the sense

here. Literally, ‘if you wish / please to bid according to the agreement’ etc. It is not quite clear whether the writer offers a choice to the addressees or is urging them: ‘Will you please stick to the agreement’. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the agreement they settled upon earlier corresponds to what the writer goes on to stipulate himself or not; but the final imperative of this sentence, ‘bid / demand’, makes a real conditional (‘If ..., then ...’) more likely.

31 At this point Pseke seems to introduce another person (female) into the discussion, but we have no idea who she is or her part in the argument.

34 ϕιϚ: It is unclear if this is a place-name, the start of a name, or something else.

37 εἰ ἀφί: ‘went to Aphrodite’? The reading is rather uncertain, but see further the address on 77 and the note to 66, 21-23.

41 It is tempting to read ‘Kellis’ here, which might make good sense in contrast to ‘Egypt’ in l. 39; but it is difficult to imagine what would fit in the remaining available space.

43 Probably, when Pseke says ‘be brought to me in Egypt’, he means himself rather than the woman (i.e. he has confused persons in the use of direct speech).

44 This appears to read ⲛⲓϚⲁⲛⲱⲢⲓ, but we can make no sense of that and presumably we are seeing it wrongly. What we understand is the conclusion of reported direct speech which brings the whole matter to a close.

45 ⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱⲅⲉⲓⲧⲉ [ . ] . . : There is not enough room to complete the standard formula (i.e. with ⲛⲱⲅⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲅⲉⲓⲧⲉ). Perhaps Pseke simply finished with ⲛⲛⲓ ‘for me’.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 91**

**Inv #:** P 51C(a)

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** This is a short, mostly complete, Coptic letter. It is written transverse on a ‘scrap’ piece of papyrus. The dimensions are 38 x 135 mm.

**Content:** An unknown author writes a short note to the brothers Iena and Hor, (for further references to this pair see the introduction to the Ploutogenes letters). The document is somewhat reminiscent of the ‘Petros’ letters in both style and format, and also has the same find site. Still, there is no obvious connection in terms of the persons named, nor is it written from a son to his mother (compare 38-41). Thus we have, rather tentatively, preferred to place it in this group of letters from and to Ploutogenes.

**Address:** No address. The verso is blank.

**Names:** Hor; Iena; Papnoute;

**Text:**

- 1 †ΩΙΝΕ ΑΡΩΤῆ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΝΑCΝΗΥ ἸΜΕΡΕΤΕ ΙΕΝΑ Μῆ ΖΩΡ' ΕἶΨΛΗΛ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΧΕ[ϞΝΑ]
- 2 Ρ[ΔΙC . . ] ἸΝΕΥ ΝΙΜ' ΧΙ †ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΕΤΑ ΠΑCΑΝ ΤῆΝΔΥCΕ ΔΒΑΛ ΜΠΤΑΨ ΔϞ[Τῆ]
- 3 ΝΑΥCΕ ἸΤΟΤῆ ἸΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙC ΚΕ †ΟΥ ΖΟΥΥ ἸΠΙΔῆ ΡΩΜΕ ΑΤΗΝΔΥ . [ . . . ]
- 4 [ . . . ] . Ε ΕἸΠΕ . ῆ ΜΕ ΑΠῆ ΔϞΙ ΟΥΖΝΟ ΔἸΤῆ ΝΗΤῆ ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΧΕἸΝΕ\Υ/ΗΠ' †Ψ[ . .  
 . ]
- 5 . . . . ἸΔΔ . . . . ΔΤῆΟΥ . . . . ΟΥΒΕ ΠΖΟΥΥ ΕΤῆΨΕ ΕΨΑΤΕΤῆΝΟΥΕ . [ . ]
- 6 [ . . . . ] . . . . ΔΖΡΗἸ ΤῆΝΟ ΑΠ[ . . . ] ἔρ(ρῶCο)

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1 ΑΡΩΤῆ: -ω- ex corr. 2-3 ΤῆΝΔΥCΕ (bis) sic, read ΤῆΝΔΥC 3 read <Ἰ>ΖΟΥΥ 4 ΧΕἸ  
 ΝΕ\Υ/ΗΠ': -Ἰ- ex corr. 5 ΕΨΑΤΕΤῆΝ-: second -Τ- ex corr.

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I greet you warmly: My brothers Iena and Hor. I am praying to God that [he will guard you] at all times. Receive this letter which my brother has sent from the border. He has sent <it> with Papnoute. It has already been another five days (that) I did not find anyone to send ... since no ... allowed me to carry a vessel and bring it to you; especially since they do not allow ... (5) ... against the day that is fitting. If you are going to ... up and we will see ... Farewell.

**Commentary:**

2 π[αῖς . . .]: There really is not enough room for the expected ἀρωτῆ.

πταω ‘the border’: cf. **50**, 29-30; **91**, 15. The term can also mean a district or nome. We suppose that it means the entry-point to the Oasis, where there would be official and military control.

4 Perhaps one should somehow read ρωμῆ here, i.e. ‘... since no person (with authority) allowed me ..’. However, the traces are problematic.

**KYRA / LOIHAT / TIMOTHEOS GROUP**

These are two letters that are not obviously linked to the main family archive, and which have a number of names in common that are not found elsewhere: Kyra, Loihat, Theodoros. The first and better preserved letter is sent by a Timotheos, and his name also occurs in the second. However, whilst the name is more common in the Ismant el-Kharab texts, as might be expected, it is found in disparate documents and only Timotheos the monk (see further **90**, 5 note ad loc.) achieves any real identity. The problem then is to find some kind of context for these two pieces.

In **92** Timotheos adds greetings from a certain Plousiane. We find a person of this name adding a note to one of Philammon’s letters (**80**), and this would suggest that Timotheos might belong to the latter’s circle of acquaintances in the Nile valley writing to Kellis. However, again in **92**, Timotheos sends news of his ‘sister’ Nonna and her family. Other than an uncertain reading with no context in **98**, this name occurs elsewhere only in **115**, where Tegoshe (clearly in the Oasis and it would seem writing to the valley) states that Nonna’s children have died. Of course, we have a number of instances of persons who move between the Oasis and the valley.

In sum, these pieces remain somewhat of a problem, in that their context in terms of the wider archive is not clear. Nevertheless, **92** is a well-preserved document and an

excellent example of the fourth-century Coptic letter; whilst **93** has some interesting features of its own that are discussed *infra*.

### P. Kellis Copt. 92

**Inv #:** P 90B

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 4 west wall.

**Preservation:** This almost complete Coptic letter on papyrus was recovered in one piece, although it is beginning to break at the central and the vertical folds. In particular, a strip along the left of much of the upper half has broken away; but (due to the generous margin) little of the actual text is lost. The document has been proficiently written in a clear and regular hand, and even utilises basic punctuation marks.

**Content:** Timotheos (with Loihat) writes to his ‘sister’ Kyra. He disavows responsibility for some problem to do with goods belonging to her son, and assures her of his proper attention to her business. These kinds of matters, often somewhat obscure (abridged and hard to understand) in our letters, are here expressed with remarkable clarity and subtle sensibility (see, e.g., notes on ll. 23-25 and 28-30). Greetings are sent, and Klaudios adds his own short note. The reference to the border (l. 15 and cf. **91**, 2) suggests that Timotheos is at some distance; possibly he is in the Nile valley and writing to Kellis. If the Plousiane of this piece is the same person as in **80**, it would certainly support that reconstruction.

#### Address:

verso

κυρία μου ἀδελφῆ X Κύρα Τιμόθεος

My lady sister X Kyra. (From) Timotheos.

**Names:** Andreas; Kyra; Klaudios; Loihat; Nonna; Plousiane; Pshai; Theodoros; Timotheos;

## Text:

1      τασωνε ἡ[με]ρι[τ] κυρα  
 2      [α]νακ τιμ[οθεο]ς μη λφισατ  
 3      [τ]ῆσινε αρο μη νερωμε τη  
 4      [ρ]ου πασηρε σινε αρο μη  
 5      τεμο μη νεσνηυ μη νου  
 6      σηρε 2ῆ παλῖς χαιρειν  
 7      σαρπ μεν εἰσινε αρωτῆ πα  
 8      μερετε μηῆσως †σεῖ νε  
 9      σε ἡπῆμεγε αραῖ σε ἡταῖ  
 10     ογαω ςι ἡῆκε ετατεοϋ ηῆ  
 11     αῆτοϋ ἡπεσηρε μη γενοῖτο  
 12     πασηρε γαρ 2ωτ πε αλλα  
 13     καν δογαμελια σωπε τω  
 14     ι εν τε ταπβαρω 2 τε ετα 2  
 15     σαχποϋ απαροϋ ἡπταω ε  
 16     2ε δε ἡμαν ἡταο σω[π]ε  
 17     εἰστε αν αῆτοϋ αἰτεοϋ  
 18     νεϳ κλη πιστις ρῆσεϋ  
 19     ςσινε αρο ἡλιαγε αγσαπ  
 20     σινε αρο τῆσωνε ἡσῆ  
 21     να μη νεσσερε σεῆσεϋ  
 22     τηροϋ κα περητ ἡτο αβαλ  
 23     σε ει καν νεσαῖσλα 2λε 2  
 24     φωβ ἡογαν ηῆμ πω ρω  
 25     ἡτο †ηαῆμελε αραϳ ειη  
 26     πῆσαν αν πλοϋσιανε σι  
 27     νε αρωτῆ αϳει αἰ† νεϳ  
 28     πσατ μη νεκον πῆρεν  
 29     σε 2ημε ἡπῆνο λογαν ἡ  
 30     τοτῆ 2ωβ ετεχρια ἡμαϳ



31     ϸϷϵĭ NHĭ Ϸϵ λρω τϵϸϷϵĭ NHĭ  
 32     ϵN Ϸϵ κλλωϸ H κλκωϸ  
 33     N̄λλλαγε ωινϵ λρο πωλĭ  
 34     ππρϵϸβγτϵροϸ λλδρελϸ  
 35     θεοδωροϸ λλλκ Ϸωτ κλλγ  
 36     λιοϸ †ωινϵ λρο             ĕρρωϸο  
 37     ωινϵ λρλγ τηρογ           μοι ĕν  
 38     N̄βλλ N̄ππĭ                   κυρίω

My loved sister, Kyra: (It is) I, Timotheos, and Loihat. We greet you and all your people. My children greet you, and (5) your mother and your siblings and their children; in the Lord, - greetings.

First, I am greeting you (pl.), my loved ones. Next, I write to you (fem.): Do not think of me that I (10) wanted to take the things that you gave me to bring to your son. Never! For he is my son too. But even if some negligence has happened, it is not mine; it is that of the caravan-driver who (15) left them behind at the border. Very well then - what happened? They have now (finally) been delivered (and) I have given them to him (i.e. the son) in good faith. He is well (and) greets you. The children all together (20) greet you. Our sister Nonna and her daughters are all well. Do not worry: Even if I were being slack with everyone's business, yours indeed (25) I would not neglect.

Also, our brother Plousiane greets you. He came. I gave him the cushion and the buckets (?). As for that item for freight: I have not seen anything (30) from him.

Whatever you need, write to me. For why do you not write to me whether (things are) good or bad? The children greet you. Pshai the presbyter (?), Andreas, (35) Theodoros. I too, Klaudios, I greet you. Greet all of them outside the house. Be well for me in the Lord.

### Commentary:

1       There seems to be no good reason to identify Kyra with that Kyria / Gouria (once ϸογρε at **20**, 3-4) who is the wife of Pshem(p)noute and a central figure for the Makarios family.

14     πβλρωϷ: One must presume that it is not the animal but its keeper that is to blame, cf. CD 44b 'fodderer' and the index to this volume. On the issue of identifying the precise pack-animal see **20**, 54 note ad loc.

15 ΠΤΑΩ ‘the border’: Perhaps this was a place where the animals were changed, thus explaining the negligence. See further **91**, 2 note ad loc.

15-16 ΕΖΕ ΔΕ ΠΗΔΑΝ: Cf. **64**, 5-6 (note ad loc.); **105**, 46; **108**, 26.

18 ‘.. in good faith’: The adverbial *bona fide* formula is borrowed from the Greek καλῆ πίστει as a whole (although the dative was here ‘normalised’ into the more commonly known form ΠΙΣΤΙΣ). This adds another lexical item to the small number of loan expressions containing a form of καλός in Coptic (mainly καλῆ προαιρέσει and μετὰ καλοῦ, cf. H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, De Gruyter, Berlin / New York, 2002: 370).

23 ΚΛΑΖΛΕΖ: perhaps ‘to be slack’. See further **106**, 29 note ad loc.

23-25 With ΕΙ ΚΑΝ ΝΕΩΔΙ- in the protasis and a First Future (preceded by the object in anteposition plus *augmentia*) for the apodosis, this is quite an unusual form of a conditional (half *irrealis*) period. The apodosis (‘yours indeed ...’) is expressively connotated for the author’s personal commitment to the addressee, and the use of an unconverted Future seems to stress the reality of this commitment.

28 ΕΚΟΝ: Probably for ἀγγεῖον. Much less likely would be εἰκόν; or ΛΔΑΝ ‘stand (for wine-jars)’.

28-30 ‘As for that item ...’: In the topical position of this sentence, instead of the common ΠΙΣΕΧΕ ‘(concerning) this / that matter’, the author uses ΠΙΡΕΝ ‘this / that name’, which is the metalinguistic term for ‘word’ (= ὄνομα), followed by ΧΕ and a zero-determined noun (lexeme); that is, a full-fledged typical naming construction. This can only be understood as a sarcastic note, expressing the author’s annoyance with the matter at issue and the person (‘him’) connected to it. It may be approximately paraphrased as: ‘Oh, (when I hear) this word ...’, or ‘As for that (cursed) word ...’. In the middle of an otherwise quite trivial exchange of information, this is a strongly marked rhetorical device. In sum, Timotheos is remarking that he has received no payment.

34 It is not entirely certain whether ‘the presbyter’ refers to Pshai or Andreas, or even to a separate and otherwise unnamed person. Still, the most likely usage of such functional titles should be (as in Greek) after the name. Presumably these persons are all with Timotheos and send their greetings, but it is not entirely clear.

**P. Kellis Copt. 93****Inv #:** P 92.262**Location:** House 3, room 11, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** This is a very fragile letter written in Coptic on parchment, which is now breaking up badly and in danger of complete disintegration. The recto is the ‘hair’ side and the verso is the ‘flesh’. Comparison of the digital photograph, taken in January 2009, with an older black and white from the mid 1990s, shows significant erosion along the edges. See further the note to l. 20. The three main fragments can be placed so as to give the dimensions of an original document at approximately 90 x 74 mm. There are perhaps ten other small pieces and scraps. There are also traces of an earlier text clearly visible throughout. This was written in Coptic<sup>16</sup> and seems to begin with  $\lambda\eta\lambda\epsilon$  (i.e.  $\lambda\eta\lambda\kappa$ ?), which suggests that the text was again a letter. One can probably read  $\chi\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\eta$  in l. 4.

The only other example of parchment recovered from the site is P. Kellis Syr. / Gr. 1. It is also in extremely poor condition, but is evidently the scant remains of a once fine bilingual production in Greek and Syriac. The use of parchment for a letter is certainly unusual in this period, but there are other instances. Noteworthy are the two Oxyrhynchite examples, letters of commendation, from the archive of bishop (?) Sotas: PSI III 208, IX 1041 (late 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E?). See now A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2008, chapters 4 and 5. She speculates that Sotas was engaged in manuscript production and that the letters were penned on leftover scraps (see pp. 144-151).

**Content:** The letter is written by a woman to her sister Talou. Apart from the greetings (which are interesting because the commonality of names connects this piece to **92**), all that we can discern about the content is that Kyra is ill. Theodoros adds a short note. It

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<sup>16</sup> One can certainly read letters such as -ϩ-, -x- and -ϩ-; as well as (e.g.)  $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$  at the start of the last line on the verso.

is unknown where the letter was written. The hand is very fine, with a number of notable flourishes (such as the pointed initial ⲗ-).

### Address:

verso

ⲁⲡ[ . . . ] . ρ[ . . . . . ⲁ]ⲡⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛⲓ

[ . . . . . ] . ⲟⲩ

... [Sara]pammon (?) ...

**Names:** Eutuchos; Hat; Kyra; Kyrilla; Loihat; [Sara]pammon (?); Talou; Theodoros; Timothe; Tatom (?);

### Text:

- 1      ⲧⲀϢ[ΩⲨⲎⲈ ⲈⲦⲀⲓ] Ⲛ̄ⲦⲐⲐ ⲧⲐⲨⲐⲩ ⲧⲈⲦⲈⲡⲈϢⲢⲈⲚ
- 2      ⲒⲂⲂⲓϢ ⲒⲚ̄ Ⲣⲱⲓ ⲧⲂϢΩⲨⲎⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲙⲈⲢⲓⲦ ⲧⲂⲂⲐⲩ
- 3      ⲁⲨⲁⲚ [ . . . . . ]Ⲩ ⲧⲈⲦϢⲒⲈⲓ ⲈϢΩⲨⲎⲈ ⲁⲢⲐ
- 4      ⲒⲚ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲉⲓ[Ϣ ⲭⲁⲓ]ⲢⲢⲈⲚ vac      ⲒⲂ[Ⲑ]Ⲩ Ⲛ̄
- 5      ⲒΩⲨ Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧ[ΩⲨⲎⲈ] ⲁⲡⲀⲓΩⲦ [ . . . . . ]
- 6      ⲁϣ̄ⲱ ⲟϣⲕⲐⲒ[ . . . . . ]
- 7      ϢΩⲦⲙⲈ ⲧⲉ[ . . . . . ] . . . ⲉϢ[Ωⲁ]
- 8      ⲨⲐⲩⲈ ⲁⲈ ⲁ . . . [ . . . . . ] ⲡⲁⲭⲈϣ ⲭ[Ⲉ]
- 9      ϣ̄Ⲛ̄ⲨⲐⲩ ⲒΩϣ ⲁⲨ ⲧ . . . . . Ⲩϣ ⲁⲨⲁⲂ
- 10     Ⲛ̄ⲕⲈϢⲁⲡ ΩⲨⲎⲈ ⲨⲨⲓ ⲧⲐⲨⲐⲩ ⲁⲡⲁΩⲨⲢⲈ Ⲉϣ
- 11     ⲧϣϣⲐϢ ⲙⲚ̄ ⲡⲈΩⲨ[Ⲣ]Ⲉ ⲧⲓⲙⲐⲐⲉ Ⲛ̄[ . . . . ]
- 12     ⲁⲈ ⲁⲢⲀⲓ Ⲛ̄ϢⲱⲢ̄Ⲓ ⲒⲚ̄ [ . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . [ . . ]
- 13     ⲕϣⲢⲁ ΩⲨⲎⲈ . . . [ . . . . . ]
- 14     ⲙⲈⲚ ⲨⲨⲓ ⲭⲉ [ . . . . ] ⲈⲡⲓϢⲧⲐⲒⲂ[Ⲩ . . . . ]
- 15     ⲧ . [ . . . . . ] ⲟϣϣⲉ[ . . . . . ]
- 16     ⲨⲁⲙⲨⲈ ⲉ . . . . ⲁ . . . . . [ . . ]
- 17     ⲈϣⲒΩⲨ Ⲛ̄ⲧⲈ . . . Ⲛ̄Ⲑ . ⲧϣ̄ Ⲛ̄ⲙⲨ . . [ . . ]
- 18     ⲭⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲨⲎⲈⲁϢⲙⲧⲁⲨ ⲭ̄Ⲛ̄ Ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ vac . . [ . . . ]
- tr19    ΩⲨⲎⲈ ⲨⲨⲓ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲐ ⲕϣⲢⲓⲂⲁ ⲙⲚ̄ ⲧⲁϢΩⲨⲎⲈ

20      ρΑΤ Μ̄ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ ΛΩΙΖΑΤ Μ̄ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ ΤΑΤΩΜ  
 v21    ΝΕΤ̄ΠΙΜΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ψ̄ΙΝΕ ΔΡΩΤ̄  
 22      ΔΝΑΚ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC †Ψ̄ΙΝ[Ε . . ] . . . [ . . ]  
 23      . ἄ . . . . . [ . . . . . Ψ̄Ι]  
 24      ΝΕ ΝΗ̄Ι Δ . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 25      CΝΗΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤ[Δ ΝΟΥΡΕΝ . . . . . ]

plus an unplaced fragment with ΤΙ]ΜΟΘΕ[ visible

My [sister who is] very [precious] to me, the one whose name is sweet [in my mouth]: My loved sister Talou. I, ..., am the one (fem.) who writes greeting you; in the Lord, - greetings.

Before (5) everything I [greet] my father ... hear ... However, if he is going to ... they say that he too is coming ... out (10) another time. Greet me warmly to my son Eutuchos and your son Timothe. And ... to me at night ... Kyra is sick ... for me that ... letter (15) ... truly ... he sends ... whether she has recovered or not. (tr) Greet me to my mother Kyrilla, and my sister (20) Hat and my daughter Loihat and my daughter Tatom. (v) Everyone here greets you.

I, Theodoros, I greet ... (25) all (my?) brothers by [name] ...

### Commentary:

Address: This almost certainly belongs to the underlying text, i.e. an earlier letter that has now been overwritten. If so, the name (Sarapammon?) may not be relevant to the understanding of the current document.

3      If indeed the author's (female) name ends with a -Ν, one could consider something like Χ̄Ν̄ΙΟΝ (cf. 45, 9).

6      ΔΥΩ: The initial Δ is written as the beginning of a new word; and thus it cannot be read as the end of the father's name (e.g. [Orm]αυο).

20      In an older photograph (from the mid 1990s) the left-hand border of the document is preserved all the way down to the break between the fragments. Thus the reading provided here: ρΑΤ Μ̄ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ (now partly lost). Careful comparison of other sections, especially the fragments that remain from the right hand of the recto, evidence further losses. The transcript includes some readings that are no longer possible (such as ΠΑΧΕΥ at l. 8).

**INDIVIDUAL AND UNPLACED DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS**

This edition of the Coptic documentary texts from House 3 is completed with the remains of a further twenty-eight letters that are here listed as ‘individual or unplaced’. What this simply means is that they do not fit neatly into the categories that have been established, and that there is little to be gained now in introducing a whole further series of groups which will either be ill-defined or composed of single documents. These are all placed together and edited according the sequence of their original inventory numbers; (and thus the following order does not indicate anything of relevance with regards to a piece’s relationship to other texts from the House 3 excavations in terms of its content).

It should be emphasised that a good proportion of these letters are, without doubt, written by or to the same family groups already encountered. In some instances it is highly probable that better preservation would have enabled us to place documents into the categories already established, i.e. some of these may well have been written by Pamour or Pegosh or whoever, but we cannot be certain. In other instances, such as **102** (Psais to Partheni) or **105** (Psais to Andreas), it is clear that we are dealing with persons that are already known. However, there are a few pieces that are difficult to place in terms of our general understanding of the background situation and families to whom, it should be emphasised, the great majority of the documents certainly belong.

**P. Kellis Copt. 94**

**Inv #:** A/5/163

**SCA #:** 1871

**Location:** House Three, room 6, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** This is a complete personal letter in Coptic, written in a very small script on a wooden board. The dimensions are 130 x 42 mm. Apart from a few minor issues of

reading, where the text is rather abraded, the piece is a good example of a fourth century letter, albeit difficult to understand for outsiders. The script is fluent and practised.

**Content:** Neither the author nor the recipient is named. Greetings are sent to an Iene (amongst others), and perhaps the piece could have been placed in the group of letters sent from or to Ploutogenes (whose name is certainly sometimes abbreviated to Iena). However, a number of the names found here are not represented elsewhere in the House 3 documents, such as Ianou and Pantoni; (although the latter may be the same as Pantonume, cf. 36, 41-42). The best way to provide a context for the letter could be through ‘father Antinou’ (l. 8), perhaps the same person as in 79, 21-22 (and see the ‘brother Antinou’ of 78, 40). The latter pair of letters are by Pegosh and closely related to each other. They also feature (Phi)lammon and various financial transactions, as does the present piece. Still, this is all rather tenuous.

The body of the letter is about business, mostly money that is owed and various goods to be purchased or sent. As usual, it is difficult to follow the details without knowing the background to the issues. In this letter, the normal social and family greetings are a relatively minor element compared with the majority of examples in the archive. There is no real indication of where it was written; but the discussion in the final lines about meeting up would suggest that the author and recipient are not too distant from each other. The reference to a man from Mot (i.e. Mothis) in ll. 29-30 points to an Oasis context, although we know that persons from there also dealt with each other in the valley.

Note that, if one takes the 2nd person pronouns seriously, the author addresses a male person (that is, his brother, according to the incipit), mixed in with a few plurals, throughout ll. 3–46 (by extension, 50) and 55 till end; but clearly a female in ll. 51–54 (and possibly in l. 22, but uncertain).

**Address:** None, and there is no available space as both sides of the board are fully covered by text. Indeed, the use of a wooden board may be taken as indicative of a context where it is not expected that the ‘letter’ will be sent in the normal way.

**Names:** Antinou; Blle (from Mot); Hor; Ianou; Iene; Kolouthos; Lammon; Pantoni; Shai, (son) of mother Tnahte;

**Text:**

A1 κυρίωι μου ἀδελφῶι  
 2 ὁ ἀδελφὸς χαίρειν  
 3 †ϣΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΠΑΣΑΝ  
 4 Ἰ̄ΝΕΡΙΤ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝῙΠΛΑΓΕ ΕΥ  
 5 ΣΑΠ̄ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΡΕΝ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ  
 6 ρΩΡ ΠΑΪΩΤ [†ϣΙ]ΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ  
 7 ΤΟΝΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΑΣΑΝ Ἰ̄ΕΝΕ ΜΗ  
 8 ΠΑΪΩΤ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ Ἰ̄ΑΝΟΥ  
 9 ϣΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟΝΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΤΩ  
 10 ΜΟ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΩΨΝΗΥ ΕΥΣΑΠ̄  
 11 ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΡΕΝ̄ ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄  
 12 δ̄Ν̄ ΔΡΙΚΕ ΡΩ ρΩΩ ΔΡΑΪ  
 13 ρΙΕῩ vac? ΕΤΒΕ Ν̄ΡΑΜΤ̄  
 14 ΧΕ Μ̄ΠΚΤ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥΣΕ Μ̄Π̄Κ̄  
 15 Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥΣΕ Ο ΤΕ ΤΑΔΑΜ̄ Ν̄ΕΥ  
 16 ΟΥΗΖ ΕΜΠΙΔ̄Ν̄ ΘΕ Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥ  
 17 ΣΕ̄ ΕΙΤΕ Ν̄ΕΚ̄ ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΣ̄ ΑΛΛΑ  
 18 Π̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΥΑΕΤ̄Ω ΠΕΤΣΑΥΝΕ  
 19 Ἰ̄ΝΕ†ΕΙΡΕ Ἰ̄ΝΑΥ Μ̄Π̄ΙΩΤ  
 20 ΠΑΝΤΩΝΙ Ἰ̄ΜΗΝΕ ΑΥΩ Ἰ̄  
 21 Π̄ΩΡ̄Ρ̄Ε ΔΡΑΪ ΑΝΗΖΕ ΠΚΕ †  
 22 ΟΥ ΝΕ Ἰ̄ΩΕ ΣΕΝΑΤΕΥ ΝΗΪ Ἰ̄  
 23 ΡΕΣΤΑ ΕΥΩΑΤΕΥ †ΝΑΤ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥ  
 24 ΣΕ̄ ΝΕΤΑΜΟ ρΩΣ ΔΝ̄ ΝΑ



25 πῤωων εἰστε <†>τῆναυ τε  
 26 ῆναυ κοῦϊ κοῦϊ αἰτῆναυ  
 27 ωμοῦν ωε ἴτοτῷ ἴλαμ  
 28 μων κε ωμοῦν ἴτοτῷ  
 29 ἴκοιογθος μῆ βλλε πῤῃ  
 30 ἴμοτῷ παχευ χε τῆναμοῦ  
 B31 τε ἀροῦν τῆτεῦ νητῆ λοιπε  
 32 κε μῆτσαωφε ἴωε πετκαϷ  
 33 αν ατεῦ ἴπιροοῦ σνο η ατα  
 34 ροῦ ρρηῖ πῤεχε δε ἴτῶαῖτε <ε>τοῦ  
 35 ηρ ωα †νοῦ ἴπερωμε Ϸιτῷ  
 36 παχευ τηροῦ χε ωα πῤιτῆ  
 37 αῖει ἀπρ . ε αφαῖ ἴτμο τναρ  
 38 τε εἰ ἀροῦν αἴτεσ νεϷ ατρεϷῖτῷ  
 39 ρρηῖ Ϸει δε ἀροῦν ἴροῦρε πα  
 40 χε . . . ω χε ἴπϷκα βε  
 41 μα ατοῖ εμπῖvacμαωῷ  
 42 ἴποῦϷιτῷ vac παχεῖ  
 43 χε αἰωεβαλ vac ατρωσε  
 44 ἴῆμεσῷ παχευ χε χοῦτη  
 45 ἴωε ἀπῆμνα αἰχοσ νεϷ  
 46 χε βωκ Ϸνο χε ἴσena  
 47 τεῦ τηροῦ ρι οῦσαπ ἴου  
 48 ωῖῷ εωωπε Ϸε τεσ ἴπα  
 49 τεϷει ηῖ ἴοῦω παχεϷ αν  
 50 χε †ῆηῦ ἴρεστα εἰ μεν  
 51 αῦϷιτῷ εῖναῖ ηρμηῖ νε  
 52 εωωπε αν ἴπε ἴρε Ϸνα  
 53 ἴτῷ αν νε ἴετεμῆτεσαῦ  
 54 νε χε σεναϷιτῷ εν ἴνιμα  
 55 εωωπε εκτηω δει ἀρηῖ  
 56 ἴῖε αμοῦ αν ἴπιροοῦ Ϸνο τα

57 ρ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲉⲕⲁⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲕⲉⲓ ρ̄ⲟϥⲛ  
 58 ⲁⲛ ρ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟ ⲕⲉⲓⲛ̄ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲕⲟϥ  
 59 ⲛⲩ ⲁⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟϥⲱϣ ⲧⲣⲓⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉ  
 60 ⲉⲓⲉⲓ ⲧⲉⲛ̄ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ  
 61 ⲉ̅ⲣ(ⲣⲱⲟⲟ)

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34 There could possibly be a letter prior to -ⲟϥ (thus: . ρ̄ⲟϥ) 41 ⲙⲁ: -ⲁ ex corr. 45 ⲛⲉⲕⲓ: -  
 ⲕⲓ ex corr.

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(A) To my master brother: (from your) brother, - greetings.

I greet you warmly, my loved brother; and the children (5) altogether, by their names. Especially Hor, my father: I greet you warmly, and my brother Iene, and my father Antinou. Ianou greets you warmly; and his (10) mother and his brothers altogether, by their names.

But now, for what do you find fault with me? About the cash payments? Saying: “You have not sent them, you have not (15) sent them”! What is my capacity (to pay)? Are they sitting (here) and I did not find any way to send them, either to you or to her? But God alone knows what I do for father (20) Pantoni daily; and he was never well-disposed towards me.

The other 500 for you (fem.): They will give them to me tomorrow. Should they pay, I will send them. And for her part, (what about the payments by) my mother, the ones for (25) the cloak? Look, I am sending them little by little. I have sent 800 with Lammon; another 8 (hundred) with Kolouthos and Blle, this man (30) from Mot. They say: “We will call (B) in and give them to you”. As for the rest, there is yet another 1700 due to be paid during these two days, or tallied up (?).

And the matter of the robe that is (35) waiting: Until now noone has taken it. They all say: “Until ...”. I came to ... Shai, (son) of mother Tnahte, came in. I gave it to him so that he could bring it over; and he came in at nightfall. (40) [(N.N.?)] says: “He did not allow any space to me, as I (?) did not ... They did not take it”. I say: “I went out to the ... with it”. They say: “2500 (45) to the *mna*”. I told him: “Go, you see if they will pay all at one time”. If so, give it (to them). As yet, he has not come to me with news. He also says (50): “I am coming tomorrow”. If they take it I will bring the money to you (fem.). And if (there is) no way, he will bring it to you. You (fem.) cannot know whether (or) not they will carry it from here. (55) If you (masc.) are assigned to come up, then come in two days that we may come with you. However,

do not come in (to our place) at the moment you arrive. But if you are still far away and want me to come (instead), then (60) write and I will find someone and come. Farewell.

**Commentary:**

13 ‘vac?’: It appears probable that the scribe has left a space where there is a knot in the wood, though he has not done so in the previous two lines where it was even worse.

‘cash payments’: lit. coins or monies.

22 ‘.. for you (fem.)’ is uncertain as the position is very unusual for a dative preposition. Alternatively, ΝΕ might be the subject pronoun of a Nominal Sentence, literally ‘.. is it’, used here to introduce a new matter. Thus: ‘As for the other 500, they will ...’.

33-34 ΑΤΑ|ΖΟΥ ΖΗΙ: The reading is by no means certain, but we think that this must be the verb ΤΑΖΟ with (previously unattested) the adverb ΖΗΙ. This would provide reasonable sense, i.e. the money is to be paid (†) or tallied up (ΤΑΖΟ + ΖΗΙ).

36 ΩΑ ΠΖΙΤḲ: We do not understand this. It seems to be the excuse made by the people who have failed to collect the robe.

41-43 The scribe has written around a knot in the wood.

51 ΑΥϢΙΤḲ: ‘take it’ or ‘have taken it’. Alternatively, the reading may be ΑΥϢΙΤḲ: ‘If they have measured it ..’.

58 The use of the conjunctive (instead of a relative) is remarkable.

**P. Kellis Copt. 95**

**Inv #:** P51B

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** This is a densely written Coptic letter. It has been written in a fluent, tiny script on one side of a squarish piece of old ‘spare’ papyrus. It is probably complete (in two joined fragments); but the text is substantially abraded. The dimensions are 72 x 90 mm.

**Content:** The letter is written by an unknown male author to Partheni. However, he also sends greetings from Kame, and it may be convincing to relate these persons to the two weavers (Kame and Heni) in 44, 4-5. There is also a weaver named Kame in P. Kellis I Gr. 71, 48; and, of course, (Part)heni often occurs in the main family group (see especially 75 from which we deduce that she is Pegosh's wife). Certainly, this present letter belongs to the main House 3 archive. Here various financial transactions are discussed; but they are particularly difficult to follow due to uncertain readings and the loss of substantial sections of text.

**Address:** The verso is blank.

**Names:** Hat; Kame; Louishai (?); Partheni; Pshai (?);

**Text:**

- 1 τῆ κυρία μου ἀδελφῆ Παρθενη vac ὁ ἀδελφὸς χαίρειν
- 2 [†]ϣINE AP0 TON0Y H̄N NEΩHPE KAME ΩINE APWTĪ
- 3 . . . . ἴΩΤ . . . ΔΕ ΕΤΑΙΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ . . . . Ε̄ Η̄ΜΑC ΕΙC Π . ! . Ε̄ΑΙ . . .
- 4 . . . . ΔΙ† ΜΑΒΩΑΗΤΕ ΝΩΦΕ Η̄ . . . . ΝΔΝΔΩΡ Ν̄ . . . .
- 5 . . . . . Ν̄ΝΙΜΑ' . . . †ΛΙΗ . . . †ΝΑΤΗΝΑΥC ΝΕΚ †ΝΑ . Ε̄Ι
- 6 . . . . Ν̄ΤΑΙΤΕC ΔΕ Ν̄ΠΩΠ ΝΧΟΥΤΗ ΝΩΦΕ ΑΠ̄ΜΜΝΑ Α2ΝΒ . ΔΗ
- 7 .. Ε̄ΝΑΝΟΥC' Ε̄ΑΜ̄Ν̄ΤCΝΑΥC Ν̄ΜΑΧΕ . . . . ΑΥΤΕΥ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ . Υ2Α .
- 8 .. ΚΑC ΧΕ ΠΑΧΕC ΧΕ ΜΗΤ ΝΩΦΕ ΝΔΝΔΩΡ C2ΕΙ ΑΝ ΝΗΙ ΕΤΒΕ .
- 9 . . . . . Ν̄Ν2ΑΜΤ` ΕΤΒΕ Π2ΩΒ ΑΝ Η̄ΠΙ200Υ ΕΤ2ΑΕΙ ΟΥΤΑ . .
- 10 . . . . . Ν̄CΑ ΤΕΜΟ Ν̄ΤΕΧΟC ΝΕC Η̄ . . ΕC ΔΜΗ ΑΠΜΑ Ν2ΑΤ ΝC̄
- 11 . . . . . ΕCΩΩΠΕ Ε2Α Π2ΩΒ Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΟΥΧΤ̄ . . . . .
- 12 . . . . . Η̄Ι ΝC̄Ν̄ΤC̄ ΝC̄Τ . . . . . Η̄ΕΝΕΤ . . . . .
- 13 . . . . . Ν̄ΙΕ ΧΙ' ΕΩΩΠΕ ΑΝ Η̄ΜΑΗ [ . . . ] . ΧΟC ΧΕ . ΔΥC
- 14 [ . . ] . ΩΑ†ΕΙ Η̄ΝΩΠ ΟΥΡΜ̄ . . Ο Ν̄Η̄ΕΝΜΑ' vac . . CΙ ΑΒΑΛ Ν̄
- 15 . . . . . ΝΩ ΔΙΤΕΟΥΟ ΠCΕΧΕ ΝΕ 2̄Μ Π . . ΕΦ . . . . . Τ . Δ̄ΝΤ . . [ . . ]
- 16 . . . . . Ε̄ΝΕΙ . . ΩΑΕΙ ΟΥΒΕ ΠΩΑΙ C̄ΜΠ . . ΤΟΥΟΥ . . Ρ . . .
- 17 . . . . . Μ̄ΠΟΥΚΑΤ . ΕΙ ΩINE ΝΗΙ ΤΟΝΟΥ Δ . . . .

18 vac MN ὩΑ . . . ὩΙ[Ν]Ϟ . . . ΛΟΥ . ὩΛΙ . ἔρ(ρωσο)

To my lady sister Partheni: (from your) brother; - greetings. I greet you warmly and your children. Kame greets you ...

... came forth ... I paid 3300 talents to ... (5) from here. ... I will send it to you. I will ... And I have paid the account of 2500 to the *mna* for some good quality ... 12 *maje* ... Now, they have given them ... He (?) says: 1000 talents. Write again to me about ... the cash payments. Also, about the work on the day when you came ... (10) ... after your mother; and you tell her ... come to Hat's place and she ... If the work of the man is mixed ... and she brings it and she ... then take it. But if not, ... tell her that ... until I come. Do not reckon a ... man in our places. ... took away (15) ... I have recounted the affair to you (fem.) in the ... if ... comes against Pshai (?). ...

Greet for me warmly ... and ... Greet ... Louishai (?). Farewell.

### Commentary:

10 Hat: see also 93, 20; but probably an abbreviated name for which there are various possibilities. It is tempting to think of Tehat, a woman of importance in the local weaving business (see especially 18).

18 If it is correct to read here the name Louishai, cf. 65, 3 ad loc. However, it is very uncertain.

### P. Kellis Copt. 96

**Inv #:** P 51B(a)i

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** Three poorly preserved fragments survive from a Coptic letter written on papyrus. They can be arranged to reconstruct the remains of what is probably the lower half of the document. The original would have been well written, with regular margins and a confident script. However, the postscript on the verso would seem to have been written by a 'squarer', less fluent hand.

**Content:** The references to wool and ‘cutting’ are consistent with the general textile business that is so prevalent in the main House 3 archive. The obvious similarities in style, dialect and personal names make it highly probable that the piece should be associated with all those belonging to the principal family represented by the House 3 Coptic documents. The name Tagoshe (Greek Takysis or Tekysis) occurs a number of times in the archive. K.A. Worp identifies a Tekysis as the wife of Pamour ‘I’ in his stemma (P. Kellis I p. 51); but we think that that person (first part of the IVth century) is probably too early for the Coptic documents, as these are mostly to be placed two generations later (i.e. at the time of Pamour ‘III’). The woman in this present letter may more likely be the same as in (for instance) 78, a letter by Pegosh that is also concerned with wool and other similar items as found here. See further the note to l. 33 on this.

**Address:** No address preserved (possibly on the verso of the lost upper half of the letter).

**Names:** Andreas; Pine (?); Pshai (?); Tagoshe;

**Text:**

*approximately sixteen lines lost*

- 17    ... [ . . . ] . ⲁ . [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 18    ⲧⲓⲗⲟⲩⲱⲈ ⲧⲈ . [ . . . . . . . . . . Ⲑⲧⲓ ]  
 19    ⲭⲁ ⲐⲛⲧⲈ ⲛⲧⲓ [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 20    Ⲉ [ . . . ] Ⲉ ⲐⲮⲁⲭⲐⲮⲱⲮ ⲧⲓ [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 21    ⲈⲧⲁⲧⲏⲛⲁⲮ ⲛ [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 22    ⲧⲣⲁ . . . ⲧⲏⲛⲁ [ Ⲯ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 23    . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . ⲧⲈⲐ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲱⲙⲈ  
 24    . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . ⲛⲓⲒⲈ . . . ⲐⲮⲱ ⲧⲐⲛⲟⲩ [ Ⲯ ]  
 25    ⲛⲁⲧⲓⲈ [ . . . ] . Ⲉⲙ . . . ⲁⲡ . ⲁⲒ ⲱⲓ  
 26    ⲛⲈ ⲁⲧⲓ [ . . . ] . . . . . ⲛⲏ ⲛⲈⲒⲱⲛⲣⲈ  
 27    ⲱⲓⲛⲈ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲓ . . . . . ⲧⲐⲛⲐⲮⲱⲛ ⲛ  
 28    ⲛⲈⲒⲱⲛⲣⲈ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲣⲈⲐⲐⲮⲱⲛ ⲧⲓⲛⲣⲐⲐ  
 29    ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲓ [ ⲐⲮⲱⲛⲈ ] ⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲈⲧⲏ

- 30 [ΟΥΧΕΙΤΕ ΝΟ]ΥΝΑΣ ΝΟΥΑΙΩ  
 31 [ vac ΚΑΤΑ Ν]ΕΝΨΛΗΛ vac  
 32 [ vac? . . . ] . vac
- v33 ΧΙ ΠΜΑΒ ΝΜΗΝΑ ΝCΑΡΤ [ . . . . . ]  
 34 ΝΤΗ ΑΗΔΡΕΔÇ ΔΪΜΑΖÇ ΝΘΗ[ΜΕ . . . . . ]  
 35 ΠΡΟΣ ΨΕ ΝΒΗCΩΡ ΑΠΗΝΑ Δ[ . . . . . ]  
 36 . . . ΔΕ ΧΙ †ΒΑΛΑΖΤ ΝCΑΥΖΕ [ . . . . . ]  
 37 ΤΕ ΝΗΪ ΝΠΙ[Ν]Ε ΟΥΒΑΛΑΖΤ ΡΩ ΝΤ . [ . . . . . ]

---

27 end: read <M>N-

---

(r) ... Tagoshe ... two *sticharia* ... (20) ... cut them ... that you (fem.) sent ... send ... give it to the man ... greatly (25) ...

Greet (your wife?) and her children. Greet for me Pshai (?) ... warmly, <and> his children and all the neighbourhood by name. Live and (30) [be well] for a long time according to our prayers. [Farewell].

(v) Take the 30 *mna* of wool, [less one (?)], from Andreas. I have cleared the freight charge. [You can pay (?)] (35) up to 100 talents to the *mna* ... Take this egg pot ... for me from Pine (?). Indeed, a pot for ...

### Commentary:

26 Possibly 'your wife' Τ[ΕΚ]ÇΖ!ΜΕ, but very uncertain.

27 ΠΨΑΙ: Very uncertain. The initial letter looks more like τ-, but there seems no room to read Tapshai (Τ[ΑΠ]ΨΑΙ).

33 ΧΙ ΠΜΑΒ ΝΜΗΝΑ ΝCΑΡΤ: Very similar phrasing is found in a pair of letters by Pegosh at 78, 41-42 and especially 79, 38; but in those instances '30' is followed by 'less one' (ΨΑΤΝΟΥΕ), which perhaps could be supposed to fill the lacuna at the end of the line here. The remarkable parallel does suggest that this may be another letter by that author or one of his circle (this postscript is written by a second hand).

36 ⲧⲃⲗⲗⲁⲗⲧ ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲛⲉ: It is uncertain whether this is a container full of eggs, or otherwise an earthenware pot with an oval shape like an ‘egg’. As regards the latter, cf. **80**, 25 ad loc.

37 It is something of a guess to read the name Pine (ⲡⲓⲛⲉ) here, following **73** (by Pegosh).

### **P. Kellis Copt. 97**

**Inv #:** P 51B(a)ii

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** There remains one long, thin strip of papyrus from the centre of a letter written in Coptic. It is possible to restore much of the first fifteen lines following standard formulae and the common style of these documents. The original letter would have been substantial, written in a regular and competent hand.

**Content:** The only surviving name is that of Piena, who is clearly present with the unknown author of the letter. For this person see the group of letters from and to Ploutogenes; and for the characteristic formula in ll. 10-13 see the note and further references at **90**, 8. The wording here is particularly close to that of Ouales at **35**, 23-26.

#### **Address:**

verso

] ⲟⲃⲉⲗⲑⲟⲠ X . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . .

[To my ...] brother X ...

**Names:** Piena;



## Text:

1 [.....]  
 2 [.....]  
 3 [.....]  
 4 [... ] ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ· [2ΑΘΗ]  
 5 [Ἰ2ΩΒ] ΝΙΜ †ΦΙΝ[Ε Δ]  
 6 [ΡΩΤἸ] ΤΟΝΟΥ· Εἶ[ΦΛΗΛ]  
 7 [2Α ΠΕ]ΤἸΟΥΧΕΙΤ[Ε ἸΟΥ]  
 8 [ΝΑΔ Ἰ]ΟΥΔΙΩ ΠΗ[ΟΥΤΕ]  
 9 [ΕΦΝΑ]† ΠΙ2ΜΑΤ [ΝΗἸ Ε]  
 10 [ΤΕ ΠΕἶ] ΠΕ ΠΤΡΙΝ[ΕΥ Δ]  
 11 [ΠΕΤἸ]2Ο ΝΚΕΣΔ[Π 2Ἰ Π]  
 12 [ΣΩΝΑ] ΝΤΕ ΠΑΡΕ[ΦΕ ΧΩΚ]  
 13 [ΔΒΑΛ] ΠἸΕΝΑ Φ[ΙΝΕ]  
 14 [ΔΡΩ]ΤἸ ΤΟΝΟΥ [2ΔΝ]  
 15 [ΣΩ]ΤἸ ΔΕ ΧΕ [.....]  
 16 [.....]Ϝ... Ϝ... [.....]  
 17 [.....]ΨΤΑΡΤἸ. [.....]  
 18 [.....]... [.....]  
 19 [.....].. [.....]  
 20 [.....].. [.....]  
 21 [.....]  
 22 [.....]  
 23 [.....]  
 24 [.....]  
 25 [.....]  
 26 [.....]..... [.....]  
 27 [.....]... ΦΙΝ[Ε.....]  
 28 [.....]... Μ... [.....]  
 29 [.....]  
 30 [.....]  
 31 [.....].. !C ΕΤ. [.....]

- 32 [ . . . . ] ΝϞ . ρτϨ . [ . . . . . ]  
 33 [ . . . . ] ω̄ . η . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 34 [ . . ρα ] ἴτε Ϟ . [ . . . . . ]  
 35 [ . . . . ] . [ . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 36 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 37 [ . . . . . ]  
 38 [ . . . . . ] . †† [ . . . . . ]  
 39 [ . . . . . ] ε δἰρ . [ . . . . . ]  
 40 [ . . . . . ] ἠἠ [ . . . . . ]  
 41 [ . . . . . ] ἠπε [ . . . . . ]  
 42 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ]  
 43 [ . . . . . ] ϣεηα [ . . . . . ]  
 44 [ . . . . . ]  
 45 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ]  
 46 [ . . . . . ] ηη [ . . . . . ]  
 47 [ . . . . . ] το ] νο [ γ . . . . . ]  
 48 [ . . . . . ] εἰ† . [ . . . . . ]  
 49 [ . . . . . ]  
 50 [ . . . . . ]

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18-25 some papyrus extant, but hor. fibres mostly gone (same at 29-30 and 34); no papyrus extant at all at extreme upper and lower ends.

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(To) ...: (from) ..., - greetings.

[Before] (5) every[thing]: I greet [you] warmly. I am [praying for] your continuing health; (and that) [God will] grant [me] this grace, (10) [which is] to enable me to [see your] face once more [in the body], and my joy will be [complete]. Piena greets you warmly.

Now, [we have] heard that ... disturb(ance) ...

*remainder of the letter not translatable*

**Commentary:**

**Address** Some traces may belong to a second (lower) line of the address lying to the right of the central cross.

**P. Kellis Copt. 98**

**Inv #:** P 51B(a)iii

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** There remains one poorly preserved papyrus fragment from the lower left hand side of a letter written in Coptic. This placing is made evident by the section of transverse text, and because the remaining traces of the main letter on the recto are consistent with the substance of its content rather than the introductory formulae and greetings. Nevertheless, the length of the lines on the recto (width of the letter) is unknown; and thus also the number of lines lost on the verso.

**Content:** Nothing is known of the authorship or purpose of the letter, and its interest lies in the wording on the transverse text, apparently something to do with ‘good news’ (ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ). We suppose a broadly Christian or Manichaean context to this.

**Address:** No address survives. If it was written it would have been on the verso of the lost upper half of the letter.

**Names:** Nonna; Pshai (?);

**Text:**

- (x+)1 [ . . . ] . ΕΤ[ΒΕ . . . . . ]  
 2 [ . ] . Ϛ ΔΒΔΔ [ . . . . . ]  
 3 ΝΣΕΩΕΠ [ . . . . . ]  
 4 ϣαῖ· Ϛε . [ . . . . . ]

5 ΔΕ ΔΝ . [ . . . . . ]

6 ΜΑΛΛ[ . . . . . ]

7 ΒΟΥΛ . . [ . . . . . ]

8 ΔΕ Χ . . [ . . . . . ]

9 ΝΟΥΔΝ . [ . . . . ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ]

10 ΠΕΤΡ̄Μ[Ν̄ΤΡΕ . . . . . ]

11 ΝΛΔ . . [ . . . . . ]

12 . . . . [ . . . . . ]

13 [ . . . . . ]

14 [ . . . . . ]

15 [ . . . . . ]

tr(x+)<sup>21</sup> [ . . . . . ] ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΟΥΒΕ ΠΙ[ . . . . . ]

22 [ . . . . . ] ΣΙΖΕΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΠΟΥΩ ΝΤ . [ . . . . . ]

v(x+)<sup>23</sup> [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]

24 [ . . . . . ] . ΕΡΙΜΕΡ` Δ . Δ . . . . [ . . . . . ]

25 [ . . . . . ] . . . ΔΝΟΝΝΑ` ΕΚ . [ . . . . . ]

26 [ . . . . . ] ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΙ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΔΤΑ[ . . . . . ]

27 [ . . . . . ] ΡΟ . . . ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΙ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΔΤ . [ . . . . . ]

28 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] ΝΠΑÇΑΝ ΠΨΑ[ῑ . . . . . ]

29 [

*line numbers only for purpose of reference*

*introduction and unknown amount of text is lost*

... and they give thanks (?) ... (5) ... [God] (10) bears witness ... (15) ... (20) .... (tr) ... good news against (?)

... write to me news of ... (v) ... Have a care for ... (25) ... Nonna (?) ...

Greet me warmly to my ... Greet me warmly to ... of my brother Pshai (?) ...

### Commentary:

3 Possibly one can presume the common construction of ΨΕΠ- (ΨΩΠ) + ΖΜΑΤ 'give thanks'.

21 One supposes that εὐαγγέλιον here has a Christian or Manichaean religious meaning, but nothing remains to give us a clue about the context. The following preposition οὐβε could be in the sense of ‘against’ or ‘towards’ or even ‘according to’.

25 The reading of the name ‘Nonna’ is not entirely secure; but see (for the same) **92**, 20-21 and **115**, 17-18, 30. Of course, another possibility would be to understand ἀννῶνα; but we regard that as less likely.

28 The reading of the name ‘Pshai’ is very uncertain.

### P. Kellis Copt. 99

**Inv #:** P 51D

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** This is a mostly complete letter written in Coptic on papyrus. However, the text is heavily abraded, with large sections lost or unreadable. The script is confident and practised, with well-formed letters. Dimensions are 270 x 60 mm.

**Content:** There is little real sense to be derived, beyond a number of characteristic phrases and formulae.

#### Address:

verso

ἀπ(όδος) κυρίῳ μου [ . . . . . ] traces

Deliver to my master ...

**Names:** Lamou; Pshai;

#### Text:

1 παῖωτ ἡμ[ερι]τ . . . [ετ]

2 τειαιτ ἡτ[ο]τ τῶ[ν]ογ

3 πρεν [ετ]ῶ[λ]ῆς ῶἡ [ρ]ωῖ ἡ

- 4 [N]EY NI[M] ΠΑ[ἴ]Φ[Τ] . . . . .
- 5 ΑΝΑΚ . [ . ] . [ . ΠΕΤ]Ϛ[Ϛ]ϛ̅
- 6 ΝΕΚ` Ϛ̅ ΠΧ[αῖς χαίρ]ϛ̅IN
- 7 ϚIΘH ḡ[Ϛ]Φ[Β ΝΙΜ] †ΦI
- 8 ΝΕ ΑΡΑΚ ΤΟΝ[ΟΥ . . . ]
- 9 Α . ḡN . . . . [ . . . . . ]
- 10 ϚΤ . Κ Α` . . . [ . . . . ] .
- 11 . . ΔCΤ . ΤḡNΔ[Υ . . . . . ] .
- 12 . ΗNΕ . . . [ . . . . . ]
- 13 ΝΕ ΦΑΚΤΡ . . . . .
- 14 ϚΑΝ ΠΩΔΙ` † . . . . .
- 15 . . ḡ . . [ . . . . ] . . . . .
- 16 ḡMεΡΙΤ` Ν . . . . . ΝΑΥ
- 17 ΩΨC` ΕΔ[ . . . . ] . . . . .
- 18 ḡH . . ΧΕ . . [ . ] ΕC` . . .
- 19 Κ . ΔΕΙ ΑΤ . Ε[ . ] . ΡΑ . Ν
- 20 ΤΑ ΑΡΑΚ . [ . . . ] . . . ϛ̅ ḡ .
- 21 ΠΕ ΠΚΑΤ` . . . . . Ε
- 22 ΕΙ ΑΠ†Nϛ̅ [ . ] Δ . [ . ] ḡ Τ
- 23 ΑΝΑΓ`ΚΗ ΔΡΑΙ †[ΝΟΥ
- 24 ΑΤΡΑCΑΥΝΕ [ . ] . ΝΕΝ . . . . ΟΥ/ Χϛ̅ .
- 25 ΝΜΑΝ/ . . † . . ΝΗἴ . . . . .
- 26 . [ . ] . [ . . . . . ] . . . . Ε
- 27 . . . ΠΙΚΕΜΗΤ ḡϚΟΟΥϛ̅
- 28 . . . †CΔΥ[NΕ] ΓΑΡ ḡ
- 29 [ . . . ] . Ν[ . . . . ] ḡΑΗΤ`
- 30 [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . ḡ . ΤHС
- 31 Η . . . . [ . . ] . . ΟΥ .
- 32 †ΦIΝΕ . . [ . . ] . . ΤΚ
- 33 . . Υ ΝΗἴ . [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ]
- 34 . . . . . [ . . . ] ΔΠ . .
- 35 . . . . . [ . . . ] ΗϚ ḡΤΑ

- 36 . . . . . [ . . . ] Π̄ ΝΕΥ  
 37 ϸλ . . . . [ . . . ] . . . .  
 38 ϸΕ . . . . [ . . . ] Η̄Ῑ  
 39 ΠΤ . . . . [ . . . ] . . Ε . .  
 40 λΝ Ε . . . . [ . . ] . . [ . . ]  
 41 †ΨΟΥ . . . . . ΜΕ  
 42 ΡΙΤ̄ Μ̄Π̄ . . . ΕΤΑ . . . Ἰ̄  
 43 λΒΑΛ . . [ . . . ] . . [ . ]̄ [ . . ]  
 44 ΠΚΑΙΡ[Ο]ϸ [ . . ] . . . . .  
 45 Δ̄ΗΔΑΚ . . . . Τ̄ΗΝΔΥ  
 46 CΕ ΝΕ . . [ . . ] . ϸΕ . . .  
 47 ΠΟΥ . . [ . . . ] . . [ . . ]  
 48 ϷΩ[Τ]̄Ν̄ [ . . ] [ . . . . . ] Ε  
 49 Η̄Ν̄ [ . ] C . . . . [ Δ ] ΤΡΕ [ . ]̄  
 50 ΠΚΩΤΕ . [ . . . ] ΝΟΥ Δ̄Η  
 51 ϷΩΒ Ε . . [ . . . ] . . . . .  
 52 ΕΝΗ . [ . . . . . ] [ . . ] . . .  
 53 ΤΕ Ἰ̄ [ . . ] [ . . . . . ] ΔΕ [ . . ]  
 tr54 ΗΠ̄Ρ̄ϷΩ ΔΕ ΕΗΠ̄Ρ̄ϷΒ̄ ΠΑCΑΝ ΛΑΜΟΥ ΝΗ̄ Ἰ̄ [ . . ] ϸ . . . . vac [ . . . . ] ϸ ΕΤϸ . . . . .

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24 Both in-line and above-line text utterly unclear, but the insertion in 24 may be connected to that of ΜΗΔΑΝ in 25 (and ϸΕ go with CΔΥΝΕ) 35-39 line beginnings: assuming that the left hand margin is not quite straight; otherwise each preceded by [ . . ]

---

(To) my loved father ..., who is greatly honoured by me; the sweet name in my mouth at all times, my father ... (5) (It is) I, ..., who writes to you in the Lord, - greetings.

Before everything: I greet you warmly ... (10) ... brother Pshai. I ... (15) ... beloved ... (20) ... come to the village ... do the necessity for me now so that I may know ... (25) ... even these ten days ... For I know ... merciful. (30) ... I greet (?) ... (35) ... (40) ... beloved ... come forth (?) ... the season ... (45) ... send them to ... so that [you / he may make] (50) the trip ...

(v) Now, do not remain without you sending my brother Lamou to me ...

**Commentary:**

**Address** The traces are faint and uncertain.

19-20 Although the traces are not encouraging, it is perhaps not impossible to read ϣΑΠΑΝ|ΤΑ ΑΡΑΚ ‘(and) meet you’ after ‘to come to ..’. Also, ΠΚΑΤ (l. 21) might mean ‘the voyage’, ‘the visit’.

54 Lamou: This is probably an abbreviation for the name ‘(Phi)lammon’, see the note at 66, 42.

**P. Kellis Copt. 100**

**Inv #:** P 51D(b)i

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** This is a small fragment of papyrus with Coptic text on both sides. The script is well formed and rather similar to that of 31, although this piece can not belong there. If one uses that other document as a model, one can suppose that the side with †ΝΟΥ is the verso<sup>17</sup> (cf. l. ‘5’), and that this is the final word written at the end of a long penultimate line of the postscript; which must itself finish part-way along line ‘6’ (since it is followed by papyrus devoid of script). In this case, line ‘1’ must be the line immediately below the centre fold of the letter (presuming it is such) on the recto. Consequently, the entire upper half is lost.

**Content:** Nothing can be said about the content. We presume that this is the scant remains of a well-executed letter similar to 31.

**Address:** None preserved.

---

<sup>17</sup> If this is correct, the photographs are wrongly designated as (r) and (v).



**Names:** None.

**Text:**

(x+)1 . . . . . T̄N̄N]ΔΥC KΑΤΑ Π[ . . . . .

2 . . . . . Π]φω̄ N̄ZHT` Δ[ . . . . .

3 \ . . . . . ΕΤ]N̄MO KΔN EN[ . . . . .

v(x+)4 [ . . . . . ] .

5 [ . . . . . ] Δ †NOY

6 [ . . . . . ]

(r) ... send it (?) according to the ... heartbreak ... that [place (?)], even though we ... (5) ... now ...

(v) ... (5) ... Now, ...

**Commentary:**

1-3 It is impossible to situate the text with reference to the margins, or to know how long were the lines, before or after what has been preserved.

**P. Kellis Copt. 101**

**Inv #:** P 51D(b)ii

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 east wall.

**Preservation:** A single small fragment of papyrus. Parts of the lower three lines of Coptic text from the document are preserved. It is presumed to be the remnant of a letter, given the predominance of such amongst the archive, and because there is no obvious ‘literary’ quality.

**Content:** Report of comments made by a woman.

**Address:** None preserved.

**Names:** None.

**Text:**

(x+)1 . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . Π]ΑΧΕC ΧΕ ΕΩ[ΩΠΕ . . . .  
 3 . . . . . Π]ΑΧΕC ΧΕ ΕΚΤΜ[ . . . . .

... she says: "If ...". She says: "If you (masc.) do not ...". ...

**Commentary:**

1-3 It is impossible to situate the text with reference to the side margins, or to know how long were the lines, before or after what has been preserved.

**P. Kellis Copt. 102**

**Inv #:** P 52Ci

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** This a virtually complete short letter or note, 100 x 40 mm., written in Coptic on papyrus. It is now breaking along the vertical folds. Indeed, the left hand strip has separated, and a few letters have been lost where the papyrus has worn away along the break. The hand is very clear and competent. The papyrus has been cleaned and reused, with traces of the previous text still visible.

**Content:** This document differs from the typical letters found so abundantly in House 3. Although it includes some greetings and the barest elements of epistolary formulae and conventional style, it is really a note about one specific matter. Apparently Pamoun has failed in his duty to pass on some message or suchlike, and has now gone missing. Psais

writes to Partheni to explain this, and to ask whether he has turned up at her place. From this scenario, one may presume that the document was written close by to Kellis and within the Oasis. The names Partheni and Chares (i.e. Charis) are common in the archive, see e.g. 71. We have tentatively identified these women as the wives of Pegosh and Philammon, matriarchs in the larger family group and resident in Kellis whilst their menfolk are away. Thus Psais writes to Partheni in this piece.

### Address:

verso

ἀπ(όδος) Παρθενι Χ Ψάϊς

Deliver to Partheni. Χ (From) Psais.

**Names:** Chares; Pamoun; Partheni; Psais;

### Text:

- 1 †ψινε αρωτῆ̄ τονογ̄
- 2 νικογῆ̄ ψινε αρωτῆ̄
- 3 τονογ̄ ἡ̄ταρε παμογν̄ βε
- 4 ει ψαραῖ̄ ᾱϑτεογε̄ πσεχε̄
- 5 νηῖ̄ ε̄τ2α2αβῆ̄ ἡ̄μαϑ̄ ἡ̄πῆ̄
- 6 ῥ̄κλαγε̄ ἡ̄2ωβ̄ ἡ̄σα 2ι ρογ2ε̄
- 7 ἡ̄π[2]οογ̄ ε̄τῆ̄μεγ̄ ε̄ταϑεῑ ᾱϑ
- 8 χος̄ νηῖ̄ παχεῖ̄ χε̄ ογω̄ νιμ
- 9 μα[ρ]ῖνο̄ αρακ̄ ἡ̄ρεστε̄ ᾱϑ
- 10 βωκ̄ ἡ̄πιωαδεϑ̄ ἡ̄πιῖαρ2ῆ̄
- 11 καδ̄ντῆ̄ αῖχαγ̄ ἡ̄εμητ̄ ἡ̄σαπ
- 12 εῖκωτε̄ ἡ̄σωϑ̄ ἡ̄πογδῆ̄τῆ̄
- 13 ἡ̄ἡ2ωβ̄ ἡ̄τοτῆ̄ ἡ̄ἡαρε̄ ἡ̄ἡ̄ πσε
- 14 χε̄ ρω̄ ἡ̄τοτῆ̄ χῆ̄ ἡ̄πιογε̄ σαπ
- 15 ψινε̄ 2ατη̄ ἡ̄τ̄ενο̄ χε̄ ογῆ̄
- 16 ρω̄νε̄ ψινε̄ ἡ̄σεογαν̄ ἡ̄
- 17 θε̄ [ε]τῆ̄μεγ̄ ε̄σωπε̄ ᾱσε

- 18 ΤΕ[ϸ]ϨΕΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΠΟΥΩ ΤΕΧΥ  
 19 Ω[ΙΝ]Ε ΔΗΝΙΛΑΥΕ ΕΥΣΑΠ ΚΑ  
 20 ΤΑ [ΝΟ]ΥΡΕΝ ΜΑΙΣΤΑ ΤΜΟ ΧΑ  
 21 ΡΗ[ϸ] ΜΝ ΝΕΩΩ[Ν]Ε ἔρρ(ωσο)
- tr22 ϨΑΠΛΩϸ ϸϨΕΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΠΟΥΩ ϨΟϸΟΝ † ΝΝΙΜΑ' ΧΕ  
 23 ΕΙΩΧΕ ϸΕ' ΝΙΕ †ΤΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ † ΠϨΝΟ' ΤΑΝΤḲ' ΕΙΝΗΥ  
 v24 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΗ ΝΜΑΝ' ΝΙΕ †ΚΑΘΗ ΔΒΑΛ

---

6 Ḳ<λ>ΔΥΕ: perhaps Ḳ[Δ]ΥΕ (sic) 24 There is ink (?) of unknown significance above ΚΑΘΗ

---

I greet you (pl.) warmly. The little ones greet you warmly.

Now, when Pamoun came to me, he recounted to me the message (5) you (fem.) had sent to him. He did nothing (about it); except in the evening of that day, when he came and told me. I said: "Any news? Let me see you tomorrow". He (10) went. I did not strike him. I did not see him. You will find (that) I sent about ten times, searching for him. He was not to be found. There is nothing from him. Indeed, there has been no word from him since this one time. (15) Search at your place, and see whether there is anyone. Seek after someone like that. If yes, you write to me the news quickly.

Greet the children, altogether (and) by (20) their name; especially mother Chares and your sisters. Farewell.

(tr) Just write me the news whilst I am here, for if (it is) yes then I can make the man pay (his) debt; and I can bring it when I come. (v) And if not, then I am stuck!

### Commentary:

3 The name Pamoun is also found at **45**, 1.

4 ΠϸΕΧΕ: lit. 'the word' or perhaps 'lesson' or 'matter'. We have translated it as 'message'.

5 ϨΑϨΔΒḲ ḲΗΔϸ: 'you had sent to him'; perhaps the meaning is that Pamoun has been asked to pass the message on to Psais (thus 'sent via him')?

8 ‘Any news?’: Alternatively,  $\text{OY}\omega \text{NIM}$  may be an adverbial in anteposition. Thus: ‘Whatever the news (= in any event?), let me ..’.

10  $\bar{\text{N}}\pi\bar{\text{I}}\alpha\rho\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{C}}$ : ‘I did not see him’; probably Psais means that he did not see him again (i.e. Pamoun did not return in the morning as promised).

11  $\text{K}\lambda\zeta\text{NT}\bar{\text{C}}$ : The 2<sup>nd</sup> masc., being neither the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural found here nor the 2<sup>nd</sup> fem. of the addressee, is really the ‘general’ person so often found in expressions with  $\text{SIN}\epsilon$ . Its purpose is to assert the veracity of the following statement and might be translated more freely, e.g. ‘Truly, I sent ..’.

13  $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}[\bar{\text{Z}}]\omega\text{B} \bar{\text{N}}\text{TOT}\tau$ : ‘There is nothing from him’; perhaps ‘there is no message from him’?

13  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{N}\Delta\rho\epsilon$ : We do not understand this. One can speculate about a scribal error. Psais might have meant something like: ‘Believe me’.

21  $\text{N}\epsilon\text{C}\omega[\text{N}]\epsilon$ : ‘your sisters’ or  $\text{N}\epsilon\langle\text{C}\rangle\text{C}\omega[\text{N}]\epsilon$  ‘her sisters’? If the former, it would provide an important indication of the relationship between Partheni and the other senior women. However, one should not suppose that they were necessarily biological siblings.

23 †  $\pi\bar{\text{Z}}\text{NO}$ : lit. ‘give the thing’. We suppose the meaning here to be abstract and have interpreted it as ‘pay (his) debt’ in the translation.

### P. Kellis Copt. 103

**Inv #:** P 56B + P 56C/E

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.

**Preservation:** A mostly complete and substantial letter written in Coptic on papyrus. The dimensions are 260 x 70 mm. It is beginning to break along the vertical folds, and the section down the lower right hand side of the document has been lost, (and an upper right hand strip has detached). The hand is exceptionally clear to read. It has been professionally written, utilises some punctuation, and has preserved narrow but regular margins.

**Content:** An unnamed brother writes to Pegosh. Since he greets his father first, together with ‘our brother’ (l. 2), it seems probable that they are real siblings. The most obvious identification of the author would thus be Pamour, and the unnamed father as Psais ‘II’ following K.A. Worp’s stemma. The ‘Lo’ of l. 38 would then be the brothers’ mother Tapollos, and the ‘Pshai’ of l. 31 another brother (named after their father). One can compare, e.g., **64** for the same persons. If all of this is correct, the piece should certainly be read together with the earlier letters by the two brothers (**64-79**). However, we have been somewhat cautious and not placed this piece with those, partly because the author is not named, and partly because the letter lacks Pamour’s usual many greetings and the regular postscript by his wife Maria.

The letter contains valuable information about the textile business, both the cutting of garments and about dye. The completeness of the document, its many details and the relative ease of reading, make it an important addition to the archive. It is also notable for the business-like style and general absence of those formulaic and conventional elements that take up such a great proportion of the majority of the letters from House 3.

**Address:**

verso

κυρίωι μου ἀδελφῶι Χ περωω ὁ ἀδελφός

To my master brother X Pegosh. (From your) brother.

**Names:** Lo; Masour; Pegosh; Pshai;

**Text:**

- 1 κυρίωι μου πατρί ὁ υἱὸς χαίρειν
- 2 †ωινε αρακ τονουγ μη πῆσαη
- 3 ετρωαθηκ' αγω †ρωπηρε χε
- 4 ῆπετῆπωλαδ αβαλ δε! ωαραη
- 5 †ωινε απασαν' πεδ[ω]ω μη
- 6 νερωηρε' ῆτακ δε [αη] πα

7     σαν πεδωψ̄ ἦμε χε ραγῆ  
 8     τκεῖῆνα ἦχῆδε ἦστῆμ  
 9     ἠῆ ἦαναγκαιον ἐνανοῦϛ  
 10    τονοῦ· ἐρεῖππῆῆναγς †  
 11    νοῦ χε ἦταῖκας ἀρεστῶ ἦῆ  
 12    ῆα· χε ἦνεκδαψκ· ἀψι  
 13    ἠε ἦσα οὔαν ρατηκ· ἠηψω  
 14    κῆδῆε ἐν ἐνανοῦϛ· ἦθε ἦ  
 15    πεῖ· ἀγω ἐπιδῆ ἀῖχος ἠεκ  
 16    χε ριτῶ ἦπετοῦηρ· κογαχε  
 17    ἦψατ· ψατοῦῆτῶ· τῆογαρῶ  
 18    ἀπῶνα· ραρηρ· ἦ ἦρχωρ  
 19    λοῦαν· ψατοῦ[[ἦ]]ρεστεῖ τα  
 20    τῆῆναγς ἠεκ· κογαχοῦ ἠῆ  
 21    ἦτκδῖχ· ἐψωπε δε εκ  
 22    ἠαψτα ἦνεκα ἠητ ἦ  
 23    ἠασοῦρ· ἀπλασιῆ ταρε[ϛ]  
 24    τεϛ ἦχῆδε· τκσποῦ[δῆ]  
 25    ρωκ τε τεῖ ἠῆ τκῆ[ . . . . ]  
 26    εῖτκῆαοῦανῶ ἀβαλ ἀ[ . . . . ]  
 27    ρᾶ . . ἠονον ἦῆρτωψ [ατροῦ]  
 28    τελαγ ψα†τροῦρεστῶ [τατ]  
 29    ἦῆναγς ἠεκ· κογα[χεσ]  
 30    ἠῆ ἦτκδῖχ· ἦτακ ρ[ωκ πα]  
 31    σαν πωαῖ· ἦμε χε [ . . . . ]  
 32    ἀῆακ πετῆαπωλδ [ἠῆ]  
 33    ἠεῆερῆγ παρα ἠερ[οσ ἦ]  
 34    τε πῶεχε ἦτκεῆῆ[α ἦ]  
 35    χῆδε οὔω· χε ἀῆαρ[ωῆε]  
 36    ταρ[ . . ]ταγς· ψατῆῆ[απαν]  
 37    τα ἀῆεῆερῆγ· τῆῆῆ[ε τῆῆ]  
 38    ἠῆωπ· ἀῆεῆρ· ἀλο [ . . . . ]

- 39 ΠΖΑΗ ΤΑΧΑ, ςΜΝ̄ [ΟΥΚΟΛ]  
 40 ΛΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΗΪ ΤΑΜΑϸ [ΑΡΑϸ]  
 41 †ΝΔνacμαζϸ̄ Ν̄COῩΝ̄Τ[ϸ̄ . . . ]  
 42 Μ̄Ν̄ΤΡΕϸCΝΕΤ̄ ϸΤΜ̄Ν̄[ . . . ϸ]  
 43 CΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄ϸ̄ ΖΑΡΗΖ ΟΥΝ Ω[ . . ΠΑ]  
 44 CΑΝ ΠΕΔΩΨ Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄ΤΩΨ [ . . . . ]  
 45 ΔϸΙ ΧΗΔΕ ΝΤΕΚ Δ† ΔΝΩ[ . . . . ]  
 46 ΧΕ †ΟΥΑΨ̄ϸ̄ ΕΝ ΟΥΤΕ . [ . . . . ]  
 47 ΝΔΝνacΟΥϸ̄ ΕΝ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄Π̄[ΕΪ Ε]  
 48 ΤΔΥ[[ΕΙ]]νac̄Ν̄Τ̄ϸ̄ ΝΗΪ ΚΗ[Π]  
 49 ΖΩΚ Ν̄ΝΕΥ ΑΡΑϸ Ερ[ρῶ]  
 50 σθαί \σε/ εὐχομαι πολλο[ῖς]  
 51 χρόνοις κύριε πάτερ

---

8 CΤΗΜ: -H- ex corr. 22 Ν̄ΝΕΚΑ: i.e. Ν̄ΝΕΚΚΑ 26 ΕΤΚΝΔΟΥΔΝΖC: -T- ex corr. 47 Ν̄ΘΕ:  
 N- ex corr.

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To my master father; (from your) son, - greetings.

I greet you warmly, and our brother who is with you; yet I am astonished that you (pl.) did not decide to come to us. (5) I greet my brother Pegosh and his children. And you, my brother Pegosh: Know that they have brought me the necessary other *mna* of dye (made from) antimony, which is excellent quality. (10) I did not send it now because I have put it (aside) to be spun here, so that you would not be troubled to search for something at your place; you will never find (stuff) as good as (15) this. Now, as (to what) I told you (earlier): "Take it from what is available and cut the cushions so that they may bring it and we can put it in its place" - be sure not to touch a thing until this has been spun (here) and I (20) send it to you and you cut them for me by your own hand.

Now, if you are in need, do not allow ten to Masour for the rough cloth and (instead) make him give it for dye. This is your own haste (25) and your ... which you will display ... Just do not appoint them to set up (the loom) until I get it spun and sent to you; and you cut it (30) for me by your own hand.



For your part, you, my brother Pshai: Know that ... I am the one who will settle (things) among ourselves, and the matter of the other *mna* of (35) dye will disappear, for my people (?) ... have bought it, - until we meet with one another and know (more precisely) and do our accounts. Take care of Lo ... the craftsman: Perhaps he (can) repair a (40) *collarium* for me? Instruct him about it. I will pay its cost ... Do not let him pass by without ... -ing [and] repairing it.

Now, be careful: ... my brother Pegosh. Do not appoint ... (45) to carry the dye for you (or) to give ..., because I do not want it and ... is not as good as the one that they brought to me. You ought to see it yourself!

(50) I pray for your health for many years, master father.

### Commentary:

Address Note that the Coptic form of the name 'Pegosh' is written within the Greek address (rather than Pekysis).

1 The author starts by greeting his father as a matter of respect (similarly in the closing formula at l. 51); but the letter is really written to his brother Pegosh, whom he starts to address from l. 5.

4 ΠΩΛΕ ΔΕΛΛ: lit. 'reach conclusion' or 'settle'; here translated somewhat loosely.

8 ΧΗΔΕ ΠΟΤΗΗ: 'antimony-dye'; perhaps a dark blue-black like kohl (which is made of powdered antimony sulphide).

8-11 Given that the author has put it aside to be spun, we wonder if the author actually means a *mna* of dyed wool (but has failed to include the word *καρτ* whether by error or because he thought it unnecessary).

12 '.. be troubled': ΔΑΥΩΚ appears to be a suffix form of an infinitive not hitherto attested as such, \*δωογω. It may or may not be identical with the transitive verb δωογδ 'bend', 'twist' (CD 836ab). A reflexive expression such as 'bend oneself' may stand for 'make extraordinary efforts (to ..)'.  
 12

23 The name 'Masour' is not otherwise attested in the archive, but ΜΑΣΟΥΡ is listed in Hasitzka's *Namen* (and a Μασουρῶς at <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam>).

34-35 Is this the same *mna* of dye or dyed wool that the author has been discussing with Pegosh (l. 8)? If so, it would seem that one brother is responsible for the weaving and the

other for the financial accounts, presuming that that is what the author is now organising with Pshai.

38-40 Perhaps this should be translated less literally, something like: ‘Give a gentle reminder to Lo about the tailor - perhaps he has repaired my *collarium*?’. The tense for the verb ⲩⲘⲙⲏ could be past (<ⲁ>ⲩⲘⲙⲏ), i.e. ‘he has repaired’. Of course, the translation ‘tailor’ supposes that the *collarium* is a fabric collar or neckband of some sort.

### P. Kellis Copt. 104

**Inv #:** P 56C(a)iii

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.

**Preservation:** A single small strip of papyrus with well-preserved and written Coptic text. It is presumed to be from a letter; but there can be no certainty about that, nor is there any indication (such as margins) about where the fragment should be placed within a document. The script is fluent and professional.

**Content:** Perhaps from the ‘business’ content of a letter.

**Address:** There is nothing visible on the verso.

**Names:** None preserved.

#### Text:

(x +)1 . . . . . ] . [ . . ]P[ . . . . . . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . ]ⲭⲁΥϸⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲭⲁΥϸⲉ ⲁϸ [ . . . . .  
 3 . . . ⲭⲁ]Υϸⲉ ⲁⲛ ϸⲉⲕⲁΥ ⲛⲓⲒⲐ ⲓ̄ . [ . . . . .

... send them. However, do not send them ... send (?) them again and they will be placed on sight (?) ...

**Commentary:**

3      ⲛⲓⲟ: This looks like an adverbial use of ⲓⲟ, cf. CD 647a.

**P. Kellis Copt. 105**

**Inv #:** P 56Ci (ex P56C + P57B + P51B + P51D)

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west and north doorway.

**Preservation:** Nineteen fragments of a papyrus letter, written in Coptic with a very small script, have been joined or placed in position. Two further fragments probably belong, but can not be placed. It is calculated from the centre crease that the original document must have been approximately 274 x 75 mm. It has broken along the vertical folds and now a number of sections are lost. However, there remains substantial text from this remarkable letter.

**Content:** Pshai writes to Andreas. Most of the persons named in the letter are familiar and belong to the main family group resident at House 3 or working in Egypt. The comments about wanting to come to the Oasis (thus l. 44) indicate that this is one of the documents written from the valley, and indeed there are references to ‘Egyptians’ at ll. 67-68. A matter of especial interest is that this is the only Coptic piece to mention an Eirene, other than the striking Manichaean letter **32**. The letter contains a number of intriguing and unique features, discussed in the commentary; and ends with high emotion: ‘I have written this letter, my tears flowing over it’. It is a personal and deeply-felt piece, where Pshai is evidently in distress.

**Address:**

verso

κυρίῳ μου ᾄδε[λφῶ] X Ἄγδρέα Ψαῖς ὁ ἀδελφός

σου

To my master brother X Andreas. (From) your brother Psais.

**Names:** Andreas; Charis; Eirene; Hor; Iena; Piena; Pine (?); Pshai (x 2);

**Text:**

- 1 [NAXAIC] NACNHOCY ETAIΔI[T]  
 2 [TONO]Y 2N TA[†]YXH MN PAI[NA]  
 3 [ . . . . . ] NETERE POYREN 2AΔ  
 4 [2N PWi N]NEY NIM ANAPEAC MN  
 5 [ . . . . . ] . MN ΠINE/ ANAK PETNCAN PWA  
 6 [PETC2E]I NHTN 2M PXAIC XAIREIN  
 7 [2AΘH N2]ΦB NIM †ΦINE APOTN  
 8 [TONOCY EI]ΩAHL 2A PETNOYXEITE  
 9 [PEI ETN]TOT PAPA 2WB NIM  
 10 [ΠIENA M]N 2WP ΦINE APOTN  
 11 [ . . . . . NO]YΦ[HP]E ETPA[YT . . . ]  
 12 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 13 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 14 [ . . . . . ] YAMA2TE MNAC vac  
 15 [ . . . . . ] . . †NOY 6E MPTBN APICE A  
 16 [PAI XE] MPTNAY OYLAOCY NHTN  
 17 [XE MPT]OCN PMA ABAL AΦE A  
 18 [ . . . . . ] WTIN ETBE PIZOB AY2A  
 19 [BT (N)OYH]P NCAN XNN AI2WTP OY  
 20 [TE MN†] TPBN6E MPTOCN PMA ABAL  
 21 [ . . . . . ] . E NPM NA2PAK PNOYTE  
 22 [PETPM]NTPA AXWI XE OYN OYNAC  
 23 [NLYPH] NMMHI MN OYNAC MPW  
 24 [N2HT] XE MPE AYXE XI NTOT ATN  
 25 [NAY N]HTN AI2ICE EIKOTE MN NA  
 26 [CNHOCY] AOYAOY NFOYW TAHA †BN  
 27 [2OLOC]OTI N 2N2AMT PWEY NTOY  
 28 [NMMA] NCAPT NMETE MPE POME

29 [ΕΙ ΑΤΕ]ΪΤΟΥ ΠΟ[Υ]Ε ΠΟΥΕ ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ  
 30 [ΤἼΨΟΠ] ΟΥΝ ΖἼ ΟΥΣΚΑΜΜΑ ΑΝΟΥΩ  
 31 [ΕΝ† Ἰ]ΜΑΥ ἸΝΕΤΑΖΩἸΤἼ ΖΩΝ  
 32 [ΑΡΑΥ Ἰ]ΠΙΔἼ ΠΚΕΪΩΤ΄ ΠΩΑΪ ΕΦΑΖΕ  
 33 [ . . . . . ] ΪΤ΄ ἸΨΑ[Μ]Τ΄ ἸΤΒΑ ἸΖΑΜΤ΄  
 34 [ . . . . . ] ἸΧΟΥΩΤ΄ ἸΨΕ ἸΔἸΔΩΡ  
 35 [ . . . . . ] ΧΩΡΙC Π[2]ΜΕCΝΑΥC Ἰ[ΨΕ]  
 36 [ . . . . . ] Υ ΝΕΥ ἸΟΥΑ[2]Ε΄ ΠΑΧΕΥ [ΧΕ Κ]  
 37 [ΝΑΟΥΑ]ΨΡΕ ΡΩ ΑΡΑΚ΄ ΑΝΕΪ Χ[ . . . . . ]  
 38 ΠΕ΄ ΝΕ ΜΜΑΝ ΝΕ ΚΕΟΥΕ ΠΕ . [ . . . . . ]  
 39 ΨΕΤἼ ἸΖΟΥΟ΄ ἸΤΑΪ[Ι] ΠΑΠΡΗΨ [ . . . . . ]  
 40 ἸΜΑΥ΄ ΨΑ†ΔἸΤΟΥ΄ ΤΟΤΕ Ν . [ . . ΖΑ]  
 41 ΠΛΩC ΠΕΪ ΠΕΤἸΤΩΨ΄ ΖΩΤ΄[ΗΝΕ ΕΤ]  
 42 ΒΕ ΠΤΡΕCΒΑΛ ΚΒΑΒ ἸΟΥΨΗΜ΄ Τ[ . . . ]  
 43 ΕΒΑΛ΄ ΧΕ ΑΝΑΚ΄ ΡΩ ἸΑC<Ν>ΗΥ †[ΟΥΩ]  
 44 Ψ ΕΙ ΛΟΥΑΖΕ ἸΝΙΟΥΑΪΨ΄ ΡΩ΄ ΕΨ[ΑΤΕ]  
 45 ΤἸΠΩΖ ΖΑ ΒΡΡΕ΄ ΤΑΡΠΩΒΨ΄ Ἰ[ΠΑ†]  
 46 ΜΕ΄ ΑΖΕ ΔΕ ἸΜΜΑΝ ΕΙCΤΕ †ΠΗΤ΄ Δ[ΩΨἸ]  
 47 ΑΒΑΛ ΖΗΤἼ ἸΑἸ . . ἸΨΤΑ΄ ΜἸ† [ . . . ]  
 48 ΑΝΗΖΕ΄ Ε[ . . . . . Ο]ΥΛΑΥΕ Ν[ . . . ]  
 49 Ζ[Η]ΤἼ΄ . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 50 ΑΡΑC [ . . . . . ]  
 51 ΧἸἸΚ[ . . . . . ]  
 52 ΕΙΤΕ Ν[ . . . . . ]  
 53 ΒΑΛ΄ Ἰ[ . . . . . ]  
 54 ΨἸΨ [ . . . . . ]  
 55 ΕΥΠΙΘΕ [ . . . . . ] ΑΒΑΛ [ . . . . . ]  
 56 ΑΜΟΥ Α[ . . . ]ΕΪ . . [ . . . ] . . ΟΥ . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 57 ΝΕΚ΄ ΜἸ[ . . ] . . . . [ . . . ]ΘΕ ΝΟ[ . . . . . ]  
 58 ΤΕΤἸ . [ . . ] . . . . [ . . ] . . CΑΥ . [ . . . . . ]  
 59 [ . . . . . ]ΟΥ΄ ΕΙΤΕ . [ . . ] . CΑΥΝΕ[ . . . . . ]  
 60 [ . . . . . ]CΑΥΝΕ ΕἸ [Χ]Ε ΠΚΡΕΝ . [ . . . . . ]

- 61 [ . . . . . ] Π]ΜΑ ΤΗΡΩ̄ . [ . ] . Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥ . [ . . . ]  
 62 [ . . . . . ] ΕΥΜΕΥΕ' . . . . . Ν̄ΤΑΚ' ΕΙ[ . . . ]  
 63 [ . . . . . ΤΑ]ΜΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΚ'ΟΥΑΩ̄ [ . . . ]  
 64 [ . . . . . ] ΧΙΤ.Ϛ' Ν̄ΕΙ' Ν̄ΣΖΕΪ' [ . . . ]  
 65 [ . . . . . ] . ΠΙC . . . Π . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 66 [ . . . . . ΟΥΧ]ΕΪΤΕ Ν . [ . . . . . ]

(tr)67 [ (+/- 60?) ] . . . [ . . . . . ΕΙC] ΧΑΡΙC ΔCΤΕΪ ΔΟΥΕ Ν̄ΡΜ̄ΝΚΗ[ΜΕ . . . . . ]  
 68 [ . . . . . ] ΜΟΝΟΝ Ν̄ΠΡ̄Ω ΕΜ[ΠΕΚ (+/- 60?) Μ̄ΝΤ]ΤΑΪΕΙΡ[Η]ΝΗ ΔΡΜ̄ΚΗΜΕ Μ̄Ν [ . . . . . ]  
 ]

(v) *about five lines lost*

- 74 . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 75 Μ̄Ν ΝΕΩΦΗΡΕ Μ̄Ν Τ[ . . . . . ] Μ̄Ν ΤΩ̄ΕΡΕ' Μ̄Ν ΝΕΘ̄Ν ΠΟΥΗΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 76 ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΡΕΝ' ΔΡΙΜΕΡ . [ . . . . . Τ]ΑΡϚΤ̄Ν̄ΝΑΥ Τ̄Σ̄ΝΤΕ ΔΕΠ' ΝΗΪ ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΪ  
 77 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΠΑΣΑΝ . . . [ . . . . . ] . ΠΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΚΕΚΟΥΪ' Π̄ΙΕΝΑ Μ̄Ν ΖΩΡ ΨΙ  
 78 ΝΕ ΔΡΩΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν . . . . [ . . . . . ]Υ' ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΪ ΔΡΑΥ ΤΟΝΟΥ Μ̄ . . . . .  
 79 ΙΩΤ ΙΕΝΑ' Μ̄Ν . . . . . ΡΗ[ . . . . . ] . . . ΡΩΜΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΡ̄Μ̄ΤΡΕ Δ  
 80 ΧΩΪ ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΪCΖΕΪ ΤΕΠΙCΤΟΛ[Η ΕΝ]ΔΡ̄Μ̄ΙΑΥΕ ΨΟΥΟ ΔΧΩC'  
 81 ΨΙΝΕ ΝΗΪ Δ . . . . . [ . . . . . Μ]̄Ν ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΤΕΤΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΠΕCΡ̄ΠΜΕΥΕ  
 82 Ν̄ΝΕΥ ΝΙΜ' ΕΪΨΛΗΛ Δ[ΠΝΟΥΤΕ] vac  
 83 (between 80 / 81) ἔρρ(ωσο)

(unplaced fragment a)

Traces of six lines, reading on the third ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ 'letter'

(unplaced fragment b)

Traces of seven lines, reading on the fourth ] . Ν̄ΝΕ[ ; on the fifth Ν̄ΝΟΥΒ 'golden' (? , probably not Ν̄ΝΟΥΒC); and on the sixth . Ρ̄ΑΝΑ . . [ .

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28 ΡΩΜΕ: -Ω- ex corr.

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[(To) my masters], my brothers who are very honoured by me in my soul and my spirit ...; the ones whose name is sweet [in my mouth at] all times: Andreas and (5) ... \and Pine (?). I am your (pl.) brother Pshai, [who is writing] to you in the Lord, - greetings.

[Before] everything: I greet you [warmly, I am] praying for your well-being [which] I esteem more than everything. (10) [Piena] and Hor greet you; (together with) their children (?), who are flourishing ... they master it.

(15) ... So, now, do not blame [me for] not having sent anything to you; [in that I was not] able to pass by the place to go to ... tunic because of this matter. How many times have I been posted (?) since I joined; nor (20) [do I have] the dowry. I was not able to pass by the place ... the place before you. God can testify for me, that I have a great [sadness] and a great heartbreak that no one has received (anything) from me to send (25) to you.

I have struggled, going around with my [brothers (?)] to set them for surety. Perhaps I can find some *holokottinos* or money, the worth of 5 [*mna*] of wool only! No people have [come to pay]. One by one they say that (30) now [we are] in a pit! We have already [given] them to those who asked us personally [about them]. I have not even found father Pshai, as he is set ... for 30 myriads of bronze ... 2000 talents (35) ... less the 4200 (that were paid?) for them in the Oasis. They say: "[Will you] indeed be content with these (payments)?" ... another one ... demanded more. I took my blanket ... (40) until I found them. Then ... simply, this is your own assignment on account of ... a little ... so that, indeed, I, my brothers, I want to come to the Oasis for these very seasons; if you (45) reach (me) anew and I forget my village!

Very well then: See I am running! Watch out for (many?) faults! I never have ... anything ... (50) to him ... since you (sing.) ... either ... is equal ... (55) they are persuaded ... come ... for you ... either ... know ... (60) ... does not know that your name ... the whole place ... send ... they think.

... instruct me: whatever you want ... receive it; and he comes and he writes ... (65) ... Be well (for a long time).

(tr) ... Charis is here. A certain Egyptian ... Just do not remain without ... spreading peace to the Egyptians and ...

(v) ... (Greet for me) ... (75) and his sons, and ... and her daughter, and everyone in their house by name. Take care ... so that he sends the two measures (?) to me. Greet me warmly to my brother ... and the other children. Piena and Hor greet you all ... Greet me to them warmly, and ... father Iena and ... people. God

can testify (80) for me, that I have written this letter, my tears flowing over it. Greet for me ... and Eirene, (she is) the one I remember at every hour. I am praying to God. Farewell.

**Commentary:**

5 The reading of 'Pine' here is rather uncertain. If it is correct, see **73**, 18 and perhaps **83**, 4. However, one might also consider reading, e.g., \?]. . . NHH N . . / .

10 The name 'Piena' is read here following l. 77.

17-18 Perhaps this tunic is what Pshai wanted to purchase and send as a gift; or otherwise could it indicate the workshop from which items were forwarded on to the Oasis? Anyway, something has prevented him.

18-19 ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓⲃⲏⲓ: If we are correct in this restoration from the verb ⲓⲱⲃ 'send', then the implication must be that Pshai has constantly been sent on tasks elsewhere and thus been unable to do what he had wanted. Thus our translation of 'posted'. A clue to the meaning should lie in the second verb ⲓⲱⲧⲏⲓ 'join' or 'reconcile'; but, again, without a context we do not really know what stands behind this.

26 [ⲐⲏⲏⲐⲓ]: 'brothers'; but the restoration is just a guess, and perhaps Pshai indicated some goods that he has attempted to pawn.

38 ⲏⲄ ⲏⲏⲁⲛ ⲏⲄ: The meaning is obscure.

42 ⲏⲧⲣⲉⲘⲓⲃⲏⲁⲁ ⲕⲕⲁⲃ ⲏⲓⲟⲩⲱⲏⲏ: The meaning is obscure, although the reading is mostly certain. ⲕⲕⲁ must be 'loosen' or similar; whilst ⲕⲕⲟ (CD 100a) means to 'become cool', (e.g. it is used for the passing or dying down of a fever).

45 ⲓⲛ ⲃⲓⲣⲣⲉ: 'anew'? It could be a place-name (cf. CD 43b for similar), but we do not think that that is the meaning here. Pshai is complaining about something and wants to return to Kellis. Still, its meaning with the verb ⲏⲱⲓ ('reach' or 'attain') is not clear.

46 ⲁⲓⲄ ⲄⲄ ⲏⲏⲁⲛ: Cf. **64**, 5-6 (note ad loc.); **92**, 15-16; **108**, 26.

68 The meaning is probably: 'Just do not remain without your coming' or '.. writing'.

76 ⲁⲉⲏ: Perhaps a measure for corn or other commodities (CD 113b s.v. ⲕⲁⲡ).



## P. Kellis Copt. 106

**Inv #:** P 56D(a)

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** This is an almost complete and well-preserved letter, written in Coptic on a thin strip of papyrus. It is now broken in two at the centre fold, and some small sections have been lost from the upper right hand where the papyrus has cracked along the vertical creases. The dimensions are 278 x 41 mm. The hand is practised. Its style and extravagant flourishes strongly recall that of two documents sent by Ploutogenes (85 and 86). The author's occasional turn-of-phrase and use of some less-common Greek terms may suggest a level of education beyond that indicated by the highly-repetitive style of many of these letters.

**Content:** It is somewhat unusual (although there are a number of other instances in this archive) that the author does not name himself. However, since the handwriting is especially close to that of 86, we think that he ('the brother') may be Ploutogenes. Note especially the extended and angular style of letters such as -ε- and -δ-; compare the -ε- (86. 5 and 106. 18); also the rather odd and shaky -π- (e.g. the initial letters of 86. 1 with 106. 13). The name of the recipient (Lammon) could, of course, be the same as Philammon. As regards the actual content of the piece, the apparent reference to some gossip or scandal is intriguing but not explained. Otherwise, there are the fairly typical references to the need for news and certain items. There is no real indication of where the letter was written; but the phrase about Lammon having 'gone up' to somewhere may suggest local travel within the Oasis (see the references in the note to ll. 10-11). If this is correct, then one should be cautious about identifying this recipient with the author (Philammon) of 80-82, who is clearly in the Nile valley.

**Address:**

verso

τῶι ἀγαπητῶ ἀδελφῶ Λάμμωνι ὁ ἀδελφός

To my loved brother Lammon. (From your) brother.

**Names:** Lammon; Shai;**Text:**

- 1 τῶι ἀγαπη[τῶι]
- 2 ἀδελφῶι [μου]
- 3 Λάμμωνι [ ? ]
- 4 ὁ ἀδελφός [σου]
- 5 †ωινε ακ
- 6 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΝΕΠΑ
- 7 ΖΗΤ ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ
- 8 ΕΤΒΗΤΚ ΧΕ Ḥ
- 9 ΠΙΣΩΤḤ ΕΤΒ[Η]
- 10 ΤḶ ΧḤΤΑΚΒΦΚ
- 11 ΔΖΡΗἹ ΜΗΠΩΣ
- 12 ΕΑΛΕΣΧΗ ΩΩ
- 13 ΠΕ ΝΕΚ †ΝΟΥ Ḥ
- 14 ΠḶΔΩ ΕḤΠΚΣΖΕΙ
- 15 ΝΗἹ ΤΑΧΥ ḤΠΟΥ
- 16 Ω ḤΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ
- 17 ΑΥΩ ΤΑΧΥ ΚΣḶ
- 18 ΤΕ ḤΖΑΛΞ ΧΕ Δ
- 19 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΩ
- 20 ΑΠΖΩΒ ḤΠΡΑ
- 21 ΜΕΛΕ ΑΛΑΥΕ Ḥ
- 22 ΖΩΒ ΑΥΩ Δ
- 23 ΤΡΕΚΣΖΕΙ ΝΗἹ ΧΕ
- 24 ΕΩ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΑΚ

25 τῶν δέσ·  
 26 ἀγὼ ἡπῆρτῆ  
 27 ἡδὺ ἐπι[[C]]vacστολή  
 28 ἡτῆν ῥωμῆ ἐμ  
 29 ζλαζλαζτ̄· ἀλλὰ  
 30 ἔψωπε ἐογῆ  
 31 δᾶμ· ἀπτηρῶ  
 32 ταζογ· ἐκψανῆ  
 33 ἐκψινε ἀπῆρταβ  
 34 ἡχαῖτ κτεμ ἀγ  
 35 ζηὸ κταβεμ κτη  
 36 ἡδὺσε· ψινε  
 37 ἡηῖ ἀπσαν ψαῖ  
 38 ἐψατε ἐγκαίρια  
 39 ψωπε τῆ  
 40 ἡδὺ ἡβάδε  
 41 χε ἡνογτεκο·  
 42 † τογ ἡῖ ἡζητογ  
 43 ἡπσαν ψαῖ ἔρ(ῥωσο)

---

5 †ψινε: -†- ex corr. or smudged? 27 ἐπι[[C]]vacστολή: the scribe has had to write around a flaw in the papyrus, repeating the -C- after a space 29 ζλαζλαζτ̄: second -ζ- ex corr.

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To [my] loved brother Lammon; [(from) your] brother.

(5) I greet you warmly. I have been worried on your account, for I did not hear about (10) you since you went up - perhaps some gossip had arisen (against) you? Now, do not remain not having written (15) quickly to me the news about everything; and quickly prepare the ..., for someone has been assigned (20) to the work. Do not neglect any (aspect) of the matter, and you must write to me how you have (25) decided to do it. And do not send (any) letter by a slack (?) person. However, (30) if at all possible, secure them.

If you are going to ask about the *artab* of olives: You can put it in a (35) vessel, seal it and send them.

Greet for me brother Shai. Should opportunity arise: (40) Send baked goods so that they do not perish. Give five pairs (?) from them to brother Shai. Farewell.

**Commentary:**

Address: Although there are some visible ink traces below the right hand part of the address, the name of the sender does not seem to have been written.

3 The name of the sender might be expected here after that of the recipient; but there is scarcely room for more than a couple of letters in the lost fragment and we doubt that it was included.

6-8 'I have been worried on your account': lit. 'my heart was hesitating ..'. We have supposed that the author is expressing fear for Lammon's welfare rather than doubt about his actions or motivations. Still, it is difficult to reconstruct the situation and the reasons for the potential scandal or gossip (l. 12  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\eta$ ).

10-11  $\beta\omega\kappa \alpha\gamma\pi\eta\bar{\iota}$ : Lammon is said to have 'gone up'. The parallel phrase, to 'come up' ( $\epsilon\bar{\iota} \alpha\gamma\pi\eta\bar{\iota}$ ), is found elsewhere. At **94**, 55 (a document that also features a Lammon) it probably refers to travel within the Oasis; similarly (in-so-far as one can tell) at **32**, 27-28; **40**, 10; **84**, 32-33.

18  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{\epsilon}$ : The term is unknown to us, but probably the same as  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$  at **39**, 43 (a letter that also mentions a Lammon).

29  $\zeta\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau$ : We prefer an initial  $\zeta$ - to an  $\epsilon$ - (and cf. **92**, 23). From the context of these two instances we think the meaning of the verb must be something like 'to be slack' (i.e. 'lazy' or 'neglectful'); but it could have a more active connotation such as 'dishonest'. Compare CD 149b  $\lambda\alpha\gamma\lambda\gamma$  'be tall' (or 'proud'); 139a  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\alpha\kappa$  'wicked' (*B*) and 333b-334a  $\zeta\alpha\omicron\delta\alpha\delta$  'be smooth' (noting Gen. 27: 11 where it has the connotation of slyness).

32  $\tau\alpha\bar{\zeta}\omicron\gamma$ : We think that the author is still worried about the letters, and understand here the verb  $\tau\omega\kappa\epsilon$  (CD 406b-407a) 'pierce' in the sense of something firmly fixed, perhaps even 'sealed'.

40  $\delta\alpha\delta\epsilon$ : cf. CD 843b 'baked loaf' or 'cake'.

42  $\dagger\omicron\gamma \eta\bar{\iota}$ : 'five pairs'. Compare **76**, 32 ( $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ ), and the analogous use of  $\zeta\alpha\bar{\iota}\omega$  (thus **79**, 20 note ad loc.). These two Coptic terms, both meaning a 'pair', may better be

rendered as 'sets' or similar. Note also the Greek ζεῦγος, which can be used for pairs of bread loaves (or 'double-loaves?'); e.g. P. Prag. Varcl. II 6, 107-124.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 107**

**Inv #:** P 56D(b) + P52A + P56H

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** Three fragments can be placed to reconstruct an almost complete letter written in Coptic on papyrus, although it is now rather faded and difficult to read in parts. The upper half is in one piece; but the document has broken apart at the centre fold some time in the past, and the two lower portions are particularly poor with a distinctly different colour to the upper (indicating rather different conditions of preservation). The original dimensions were 264 x 60 mm. The hand appears a little crude compared with many from the archive; but it is competent enough and includes both opening and closing formulae in Greek.

**Content:** A certain Dorotheos writes to his 'son' Andreas. There are no other instances of the sender's name in the Coptic archive, and it is difficult to relate this piece to any of the known characters from House 3 (although the name Andreas is common enough). The content is remarkably personal. Unfortunately, the connotations are difficult to understand without context; especially given the author's brevity and allusiveness, combined with the difficulty of reading parts of the lower text. In general, the document strikes one as unusual in its style, and different in its concerns to the majority of the letters. It may also evidence some variant features as regards dialect; (though these could be idiosyncracies of the scribe). It is a shame that we do not understand the text better.

**Address:** No visible address.

**Names:** Andreas; Dorotheos;

## Text:

- 1 τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ υἱῷ  
 2 [μο]ν Ἀνδρέαντι [ ? ]  
 3 Δορόθεος χαίρειν  
 4 ραϥη ἡρῶβ ἡμῃ τῶ  
 5 νε ἀτεκμηῖτῶρη  
 6 εταιαῖτ ἡτοτ τοῦο  
 7 πετῤῥᾶνῆῖ ρῶτ  
 8 ρῆ τα[τγ]χη εἶψα  
 9 οὔωψ[ε] μεν εταοῦο  
 10 ἀρακ ἡνετῤη παρῤητ  
 11 τῆναψ[δῆ] θε εἰ ρη ρη π  
 12 ρεῖ ἀηᾶκ [ετ]ᾶω ἡμας  
 13 χε κῤῥαῖς-θαῖνε ἀραγ  
 14 ἀλλὰ ἐπιλη ἀγῶτρε  
 15 πῤῶβ ἐτῆτῆμητε  
 16 τῆνοῦ ρε τῆτοῦο πε  
 17 χε ρῆ οὔσῤῥητοῖα  
 18 πῤῥ[ωβ ἀη] ετακρῤεῖ  
 19 ἡηῖ [ετ]βῆτῤ ἡῆ  
 20 ψῤᾶ[μ . . . ] ἡλαγε  
 21 εἰμητι ἀτῆοῦεῖε  
 22 χε πεσεχε πε ἡπ  
 23 σῤᾶτ ἡμετε χε  
 24 ραῖοῦω εἶρ ἀηᾶψ  
 25 ρῆ οὔηᾶς ἡωρκ  
 26 εταῤῆη κεῤῶβ εψω  
 27 πε τῆ[ . . . ] . . ψᾶχ ρ  
 28 ψοῖ τῆ . . ο ετοτ ἀραϥ  
 29 σῤᾶηε ἀτεοῦο τμη  
 30 ε ἀ[ρ]ακ π[α]ψῤῆ

31 ΕΝ[Α]ΝΟΥΓ[Υ] ἔρρωσθαί  
 32 σε εὖχομαι  
 33 πολλοῖς χρόνοις

---

6 ΕΤΑΙΔΙΤ for ΕΤ-ΤΑΙΔΙΤ 14 it may be possible to read -ΕΙ in ligature at the close of the line  
 16 read †ΤΕΟΥΟ <᾿>ΠΟΕΧΕ (or is †- conjunctive?)

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To my most honoured son Andreas; (from) Dorotheos, - greetings.

Before everything: I greet (5) your sonship, greatly honoured by me; the one who also pleases me in my soul. Indeed, though I should love to tell (10) you the things in my heart, I will not be able to [find] the way in the letter. I am saying that you perceive them; but, since (15) the matter between us has been fixed, therefore I am now recounting the affair in brief. [Again], the matter about which you wrote to me: There is no (20) possibility [to do] anything, except to go away; in that the affair is only of such a kind that I have already pledged (25) with a great oath to resist (?) another matter. If ... occurs ... to him, it is appropriate to tell the truth (30) to you, my good child.

I pray for your health for many years.

### Commentary:

Address: Although there is no apparent address, there are some ink traces on the verso. They do not appear to be text, but one should view the digital photograph.

2 Ἄνδρεαγι [ ? ]: Given that this is a most irregular form of the dative (as if the word were ἀνδριάζ?), and the possibility that there is lost text following (see the photograph), perhaps one should better read: Ἄνδρεα . . ι . . . [ . ]? It is possible that the top layer of papyrus has stripped away, noting what may be a downward stroke reaching the final -v on the following line.

26 ΤΑΔΗ: If the reading is correct and the verb is ΤΩΔΗΕ (cf. CD 466ab), then one has to decide on the appropriate sense for the context from the basic meanings of ‘push’ and ‘repel’. However, otherwise, since the initial Ε- seems to stand here for the preposition Α-, it could also be the verb ΔΗ- ‘find’ after a form ΤΑ- of the causative

infinitive (for ⲁⲧⲣⲁ-): '(oath) that I shall find another thing'. Either way, in this section of the text it is unclear to us whether Dorotheos is talking about some actual legal matter.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 108**

**Inv #:** P56G + P56C + P56I

**Location:** House 3, room 9, deposit 3 west doorway.

**Preservation:** Six fragments of inscribed papyrus can be arranged to provide the remnants of a letter written in Coptic. Three form parts of the upper half (calculated to 72 x 58 mm.), and three form almost the entire lower half (also 72 x 58 mm.). Approximately four lines can be supposed to be completely missing from the centre, with the original height calculated as ca. 165 mm. The script is proficiently written and clear to read. The initial ϣ- of l. 6 is slightly indented and writ large, indicating a concern for format and clarity that is also apparent in the punctuation signs. The hand and formatting are quite similar to the same in **31**; compare (e.g.) the ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉⲓⲛ.

**Content:** Pshai writes to Pegosh. The context is certainly that of the circle of Pamour, whose letters dominate the earlier sections of this volume. Consequently, Kapidon is surely the same as Kapiton; Lo is Tapollos; Philammon may well be the same as the author of **80-82**; and the letter must be read with those written by Pegosh himself (**73-79**). As we saw previously, the adult men were generally working in the Nile valley (some together with their wives), from where they sent letters and items back to the extended family in the Oasis. In this instance, it seems that Pshai is in Kellis (ll. 26-27), from where he writes to Pegosh; and thus we are seeing the other half of the correspondence. Compare, e.g. **73**.

**Address:** The verso is blank, (and there is probably not enough room in the lost section for what one would expect to be written).



**Names:** Hapia; Kapidon; Lo; Pegosh; Philammon; Pshai (x 2?);

**Text:**

1 π[αχαϊς] πασαν̄ η̄με  
 2 ριτ̄ [εττα]ϊ̄αῑτ̄ ν̄τοτ̄  
 3 το[νοϋ πεδ]ωψ̄ ανακ  
 4 πε[κσαν π]ψαϊ̄ πετς̄εϊ̄  
 5 νε[κ ρ̄η̄ πχ]αϊς̄ χαιρειν̄  
 6 ρι[θην̄ η̄ρωβ̄ η̄]η̄μ̄ †ψ̄η̄νε̄  
 7 α[πασαν̄ τονο]γ̄ ε̄ϊ̄ψ̄ληλ  
 8 α[πνοϋτε] η̄νεϋ̄ η̄η̄μ̄ ρα  
 9 [πκοϋχε̄ῑτ]ε vac . . . η̄ . ς . σ  
 10 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ]δ̄η̄[ . . . ] .  
 11 [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 12 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ε  
 13 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . η̄θε̄ .  
 14 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . ]  
 15 [ . . . . . ]  
 16 [ . . . . . ]  
 17 [ . . . . . ]  
 18 [ . . . . . ]  
 19 [ . ] . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 20 [π]ψαϊ̄ η̄η̄ ραπιᾱ ᾱϊ̄  
 21 χῑ πς̄εϊ̄ νεϋ̄ ᾱῑχος̄  
 22 αραϋ̄ ετβε̄ ναοϋη̄οϋε̄  
 23 παχεϋ̄ χε̄ αϋτενε̄ οϋ  
 24 επιστολη̄ ρωτ̄ η̄η̄ ε̄  
 25 τβε̄ κεν̄μᾱ η̄μη̄ς̄ε̄  
 26 αρε̄ δε̄ η̄η̄μ̄η̄ν̄ αϋεῑ  
 27 αδηλη̄ αϋη̄τ̄οϋ̄ πα  
 28 χεϋ̄ χε̄ οϋβ̄ις̄ τβᾱ η̄  
 29 ραη̄τ̄ παχεν̄ χε̄ ψα

30 Τῴει λογαρε· νιῖλαγε  
 31 τηρογ εγσαπῷ ωῖνε λ  
 32 ρακ τονογῷ ωῖνε νεν  
 33 τονογ αφιλαμμωνῷ  
 34 μῖ τῴεριμε· ἐρρωσθαί  
 35 σε εὔχ[ομ]αι πολ[λ]οῖς χρόνοις

(tr)36 ΚΑΠΙΔΩΝ Μῖ Τῴεριμε· μῖ [νερωρηε ωῖνε] αρακ τονογῷ παχε λο χε τῷραξῖ  
 37 ΟΥ Μῖμακ . [ . . . . . ] . εϛ μαρῴτῖνναγ ογλετῷε νηῖ νιχηδεῷ

(To) [my master], my loved brother who is very honoured by me, Pegosh. (It is) I, [your brother] Pshai, who writes (5) to [you in the] Lord, - greetings!

Before every[thing]: I greet [my brother] warmly; I am praying to [God] every hour for [your well-being] ... (10) ... (15) ... (20) Pshai and Hapia. I have taken the letter to him. I have spoken to him about my hours (?). He says that he has drawn up a letter for me too, (25) concerning another *mna* (?) for interest. Very well then! He came to Kellis and brought (?) them. He says: “Half a myriad of bronze”. We say: “Until (30) he comes to the Oasis”.

All the little ones, every one, greet you warmly. Greet warmly for us Philammon and his wife. (35) I pray for your health for many years. (tr) Kapidon and his wife and [his children] greet you warmly. Lo says: “I beg you ... Let him send me a small portion of dye”.

### Commentary:

4, 7 ΚΑΝ: The restoration of ‘brother’ is based on the probable reading of the same in l. 1. Also, compare 73, 1-2.

20 This Pshai (or Shai?) is probably a different person to the author. For Hapia see 77, 20.

22 ΟΥΝΟΥΕ: We have supposed a strange plural form or error instead of the expected ΟΥΝΑ(Ο)ΥΕ, but perhaps it is a different word. The idea of ‘work hours’ seems suspiciously anachronistic; but (e.g.) well-usage was measured in time, cf. O. Trim. 19.

25 ΚΕΝΜΑ Μῖμηϛε: We have understood this as ‘another *mna* for interest’. Obviously, it requires reading ΝΜΑ as an error for ΜΝΑ. The idea of providing extra

weight (i.e. quantity of some commodity) for delayed supply seems plausible; but it is quite possible that we are misunderstanding the clause. In particular, what we have read as a -n- is poorly formed; but no possible alternatives (such as -h- or even -λi-) make any better sense to us.

26     ⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲙⲁⲛ: Cf. **64**, 5-6 (note ad loc.); **92**, 15-16; **105**, 46.

27     ⲁϣⲛⲧⲟϥ: lit. 'he brought them'. The reading seems correct, but does not make good sense. We wonder whether it would be better to read ⲁϣⲛⲧⲟϥ. The meaning would then be: 'He came to Kellis to ask for them'.

28-29 'Half a myriad of bronze': or perhaps better, '5000 cash'.

29-30 'Until he comes ..': The meaning is probably, 'wait until ..'.

36     'Kapidon and his wife and [his children]': similarly e.g. **72**, 25-26; **77**, 5-6. On this person and his relationship to Pegosh, see particularly the introductory comments to the latter piece.

### **P. Kellis Copt. 109**

**Inv #:** P 59A(i) + P 59B/F + P 60D + P 64A + P 93B

**Location:** House 3, room 3, deposit 3; room 6, deposits 3 + 4; room 9, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** There remain seven papyrus fragments of what was probably a single letter, written in Coptic with a distinctive large script. They can be arranged to restore portions of the document, the dimensions of which would have been 266 x 86 mm. It has broken at the folds, perhaps already in antiquity (as indicated by the varied find-sites and differing states of preservation of the extant fragments). Most of the right-hand side is missing.

**Content:** The letter is poorly preserved and little of value can be ascertained about its contents. The piece is of some interest for its script; also the terminology at ll. 30-32 (discussed below) which again relates to the textile business.

**Address:**

verso

ἀπ(όδος) τῆ συνβία vac Τεῤσογις  
 παρὰ Καπιτος

Deliver to my wife Tegosgis (?). From Kapitots (?)

**Names:** Kapitots; Pegosh; Pishai; Psounte- (?); Tahom (?); Tegosgis (?);

**Text:**

- 1 ΤΑCΩΝΞ [ . . . . . ]
- 2 ΑΝΑΚ ΤΕ . [ . . . †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΡΟ ΤΟ]
- 3 ΝΟΥ Μῆ ΤΑ[ . . . . . ]
- 4 vac [ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ]
- 5 ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩ[Β ΝΙΜ †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΡΟ]
- 6 ΤΟΝΟΥ [ΕΪΨΛΗΛ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ]
- 7 ΧΕϢΑΡ[ΑΪϢ ΑΡΟ . . . . . ]
- 8 ΑΡΑΪ ΨΑ[ . . . . . ]
- 9 ΕΡΗΥ Ν[ . . . . . ]
- 10 ΤῆΝΑ[Υ . . . . . ]
- 11 Ν†ΤϢ[ . . . . . ]
- 12 ΝϢῆῆῆ . [ . . . . . ]
- 13 ΜΝΑ CΝΕΥ Ν[ . . . . . ]
- 14 †ΝΑΜΑΖῆ Ν[ . . . . . ]
- 15 ΠΙΜΑ . . [ . . . . . ]
- 16 ΠCϢϢ . . . . [ . . . . . ]
- 17 ΑΡΟ ῆΜΑϢ Τ[ . . . . . ]
- 18 ΕΥῆΨΕΥ ῆῆΤΕ . [ . . . . . ]
- 19 [Ε]ΤΒΕ ΕΥ ΔΕ Α[ . . . . . ]
- 20 ΠῆΖΑΛΟΚΟΤῆ[ΟC . . . . . ]
- 21 ΤΑΖΩΜ ῆϢ[ . . . . . ]
- 22 . ΨΝΕΤῆῆΜ[ . . . . . ]
- 23 ΖΑΤΗC . ΑῆΝ[ . . . . . ]

- 24 . . 2̄N̄ KHME [ . . . . . ]
- 25 2̄WB NIM ̄[ . . . . . ]
- 26 [ . . ] . . ̄ . [ . . . . . ]
- 27 [ . . . . . ]
- 28 [ . . . . . ] T̄ĒC̄ N̄T̄ĒB̄WK
- 29 ̄W̄ . . ̄ . [ . . ] . M̄[̄P̄]̄IM̄Ā W̄ĀPŌĒ
- 30 ĒT̄B̄Ē P̄Ī2̄ŌL̄ŌK̄ŌT̄IN̄ŌC̄ ŌȲN̄
- 31 T̄Ē P̄ĒD̄W̄ ŌȲC̄ĀP̄T̄ N̄P̄W̄C̄ M̄
- 32 P̄C̄ŌȲN̄T̄Ē[ . M̄]̄N̄ T̄Ē[̄C̄]̄2̄IM̄Ē †P̄L̄D̄Ē
- 33 N̄2̄ĀIT̄Ē [ . . ] . † . [ . . ] N̄IM̄ĒC̄ P̄W̄††
- tr34 vac ĪC̄ ΛĀB̄HC̄ N̄Ē †N̄Ā[ . ] . . . . N̄ . . . [ . . ] . . . . . [ . . ] . . . . . T̄ . [ . . . . ] . . H̄ȲĒ  
N̄P̄ĪW̄ĀĪ
- v35 W̄Ī M̄HT̄ N̄N̄M̄N̄[̄Ā . . . . . ]
- 36 T̄ĒT̄[Ō]Ȳ N̄P̄C̄ . . [ . . . . . ]
- 37 2̄Ā NH̄2̄ vac

---

34 ΛĀB̄HC̄: -Ā- ex -Ē- corr.

---

(To) my sister ... (It is) I, your ... [I greet you] warmly, and ..., - [greetings (?)].

(5) Before [every]thing: [I greet you] warmly. [I am praying to God] that he will [guard you] ... to me until (we can greet) one another (again).

... (10) send ... and he brings it ... two *mna* of ... I will pay him ... (15) here ... to you ... they are useful ... Now, why ... (20) this *holokottinos* ... Tahom (?); and he ... in Egypt ... (25) everything ... and you go to ... (from?) this place ... (30) on account of this *holokottinos*. Pegosh has a ... fleece from (?) Psounte- [and (?)] his wife. This torn robe ... the warp.

(tr) Here is a trap (of fish?) for you. I will ... from Pishai. (v35) Measure ten *mna* ... give them to ... for oil.

### Commentary:

Address: It would appear that the name of the recipient is written with a Coptic -G- in the midst of her name, which is otherwise given a Greek form. Whilst one might expect

some form of  $\tau\alpha\delta\omicron\omega\epsilon$  /  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , this does not seem to be the case. However, one should note that the initial  $\tau\epsilon$ - seems separated from what follows, as if it were not part of the same word. Perhaps a better reading or interpretation of the address can be suggested.

2 It would appear that the author is another woman. Perhaps read:  $\tau\epsilon\zeta[\omega\eta\epsilon$ .

3  $\tau\alpha[$  : This could be another woman's name or a term of relationship ('my mother / daughter' / etc.).

8-9 As a restoration, *exempli gratia*,  $\omega\alpha[\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha \lambda\eta\epsilon\eta]\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$  (cf. **32**, **38**; **103**, 36f.).

29  $\omega\alpha\pi\omicron\epsilon$ : The reading is clear, but meaningless to us. Perhaps one should read  $\omega\alpha\pi\omicron\langle\gamma\rangle\epsilon$ ?

30-31  $\omicron\gamma\zeta\alpha\rho\tau\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\rho\omega\zeta$ : This looks like 'mouth-fleece', but what that might mean we have no idea.

32 Psounte-: Cf. the many spellings listed under  $\pi\epsilon\zeta\gamma\eta\theta\iota\omicron\zeta$  in Hasitzka's *Namen*.

32-33  $\dagger\pi\bar{\alpha}\delta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ : See the references in CD 262b.

34  $\lambda\lambda\beta\eta\zeta$ : 'trap' or otherwise 'kettle' (of fish?); cf. **76**, 31 note ad loc.

### P. Kellis Copt. 110

**Inv #:** P 61G/1 + P 65E/F/G/J

**Location:** House 3, room 8, deposits 3 + 4.

**Preservation:** A number of papyrus fragments can be placed to reconstruct the major part of a letter written in Coptic. It has broken along the horizontal folds into four main sections, and the fibre has begun to disintegrate so that sections only retain a structure like 'lace'. The document was written in a practised and flowing hand, with characteristic features such as an  $-\epsilon-$  written in two loops (see l. 11). The opening lines are particularly poorly preserved, and the final lines of the recto (and verso) almost entirely lost.

**Content:** Psais writes to his sons. He names first Pamour (whose name is given on the address), and then probably Pagosh and other members of the family. If this is correct, the piece is an important addition to the archive, written from Psais 'II' (following Worp's stemma) to Pamour 'III'. It may well indicate that Pamour is the eldest son. The letter must be read together with the many others belonging to the brothers and their circle. Unfortunately, much of the text is difficult to read and the contents hard to follow. Mostly, Psais seems to be dealing with business matters. At l. 26 he relates a comment that 'the place is difficult' (πμα μαχ<sup>2</sup>, cf. 31, 47); but the connotation is unclear.

**Address:**

verso

τῶι δεσπότῃ μου υἱῶι X Παμοῦρι  
Ψάϊς

To my master son X Pamour. (From) Psais.

**Names:** Kapitou; Pagosh; Pamour; Pottes (?); Psais; Shai;

**Text:**

- 1 [ΝΑ]ΞΙϞΑΥϞ ἩΜΕΡΕΤΕ ΕΤΤΑΙΑΙΤ
- 2 [ἸΤΟ]Τ ΤΟΝΟΥ [ΠΑ]ΜΟΥΡ ΜἸ ΠΑ
- 3 [δωω] . . . . . Ἰ[ . . . . ] . ΜἸ
- 4 [ . . ] . . ΠΡ . . [ . ] Λ . . . . . [2Δ]
- 5 [ΘΗ] Ἰ2ΩΒ Ἰ[ΙΜ] †ΠΩ[ΠΗ]Ρ[Ε Π]Ω[Ϟ Ἰ]
- 6 [ΤΑ]Κ ΠΑδω[ω] ΝΗϞωΑΡϞ[Κ] .
- 7 [ . . ] ἸΠρωΜϞ . . . ΠΑ . . . . . Ν
- 8 [ . . ] . ΝΕΤΟΥ . . . ΡΩ ΕἸϞ2ΕΙ [Ν]ΕΚ
- 9 [ΧΕ Ἰ]ΠΡ† ΝϞϞ ἸΝΟΥΜϞ ἸΠΒΕ
- 10 [Κ]Ε ΠΜἸΤḲΝΑΥϞ ἸωΕ ἸδἸδωΡ
- 11 . . . ϞϞ ΔΝ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ 2Πωω
- 12 . . . 2ἸΠωλδ ΜἸ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ
- 13 ΔΝ[Δ]Κ ΜἸ ΠΡωΜΕ ΔΠΟΥϞ
- 14 ΠΟΥ[Υ]Ε 2ΠϞΜΕΡΟϞ ΔΒ[Δ]Λ ΝϞ[ . ]

- 15     $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}$  [ . . . . ]  $\text{E}\bar{\text{C}}$  .  $\text{Z}\bar{\text{N}}\text{Z}\bar{\text{B}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}$  . .  $\text{C}$
- 16     $\text{N}\bar{\text{E}}$  [ . . . . ]  $\text{P}\omega\lambda\zeta$   $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}$  . . .
- 17     $\Delta\text{N}[\text{E}\bar{\text{T}}]\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}$  . . . . .
- 18     $\text{P}\bar{\text{P}}$  [ . . . . ] . . . .  $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{T}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}$
- 19     $\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}$  .  $\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}$   $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 20     $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Z}}$   $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 21     $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}$  .
- 22     $\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}$  . .  $\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 23     $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 24     $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{H}}$   $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 25     $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$
- 26     $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{Z}}$   $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 27     $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\Delta}$  .  $\bar{\text{C}}$  . .  $\bar{\text{M}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{I}}$
- 28    .  $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{P}}$  .  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{M}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}$  . .
- 29     $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{T}}$   $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{Z}}[\bar{\text{E}}]\bar{\text{I}}$
- 30     $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\text{E}}$   $[\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}]\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}$
- 31     $\bar{\text{P}}$  . [ . ] . .  $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{B}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}$   $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{W}}$
- 32    [ . . . ] . .  $\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\Delta}$
- 33    [ . . . ] . .  $\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}$   $\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{T}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$  . .
- 34    [ . . . ] .  $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}$   $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}$  . . . . .
- 35    [ . . . . ]  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{H}}$   $\bar{\text{T}}[\bar{\text{C}}]\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}[\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}]$
- 36    . . . . .
- 37    . . . . .
- 38    [ . . . . ]  $\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}$  . . . . . [ . . . . . ]
- 39    . . . . .
- 40    . . . . .
- 41    . . . . .
- 42    . . . . .
- 43    . . . . .
- tr44    [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}}$   $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{W}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{K}}/\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{K}}$   $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{W}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}$   $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\Delta}$   
 $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{M}}$  . [ . . . . . . . . . . ]
- v45     $\bar{\text{N}}$  . . . . .  $\bar{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\text{P}}$  . . .  $\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}[\bar{\text{H}}]\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}}$   $\bar{\text{P}}$  . . . . .



46 .. [ . . . . ] . . . . .

47 [ . . . . ] . İ̄ΤΗ . . . †[Ε]ΠΙΦΤΟΛΗ [Ε]ΤΗΛΕΖΑΤΗΝΕ Ν̄Π̄ΖΩ

48 [ . . . . . ] . . . ΗΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΟΤΤΗÇ ΗΑΠΑΖ̄Ν̄ ΤΕ

49 [ΤΗΔ . . . . . ] . . . . . İ̄ ††Ε Ν̄ΨΑΤ̄Ç Ν̄Τ̄ΒΤ ΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΗΤΝ

50 [ . . . . . ] ΗΨΑῙ Ν̄ΠΕΟΥΔΥΝΕ †ΨΙΝΕ ΔΚΑΠΙΟΥ

51 \ [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ΗΥ

52 . . . . .

53 . . . . .

54 . . . . . [ΟΥΧ]ΕΪΤΕ . .

55 [ . . . . . ] ΕΧΕΑΡ . . . . .

There are also a number of other unplaced and poorly preserved fragments and scraps (visible on the digital photograph). On the best of these one can read (lowest of four lines) ]̄ϖ̄̄ . . ΤΝ[.

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14 ΖΠϖ̄̄ΗΕΡΟÇ: assimilated, for Ζ(ϖ̄)-Πϖ̄- 19 . ΗΔ: initial letter hardly formed, but the scribe must have intended (̄̄)Π̄̄Δ (compare l. 21) 25 ϖ̄̄Π̄̄ΖΟΟΥ sic; read ϖ̄̄Π̄̄<Ε ϖ̄̄Π̄̄>ΖΟΟΥ 26 ΠΟΟΥ: second -Ο- ex -Υ- corr.

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(To) [my] loved masters, who are greatly honoured by me: Pamour and Pagosh (?) ...

[Before (5) every]thing: I am astonished [why you], Pagosh, should ... the man ... So, I am writing to you (sg.): Do not give him the *nummi* for (his) wage, (10) the 1200 talents. Indeed, also, (I must tell) you (pl.) that I have divided ... (and) we have settled with one another. I and the (other) man have, each one, sent his share to ... (15) and ... We have sent the ... (and now it is) settled. Do not (make any payment?) to the fellows whom you have ...

The ... I am mixing for you here, as you are yourselves destroying (20) the ones that are in the Oasis. We have ... two cells with what is here ... the person. So, now, you have no cause to say that I have neglected to get them to send them (?) (25) to the boy. However, he says from day to day (?) that the place is difficult, and not (?) ... I would have received them. ... will receive a little ... to him so that he may mix.

Now, you (pl.) have written (30) to me about the matter of the ... everything he will ... Write to me ... I will give ... that ..., while ... (35) letter. I am writing to you ... (40) ...

(tr) ... Pamour: Take care of your brothers who are with you. Do not care about the one who has not ... (v 45) ... in them to me against the ... this letter which will reach you. Do not ... day, the one when Pottes (?) will reach us, the ... these five portions of fish. Take them for you (50) ... Shai of Peouaune. I greet Kapitou ... Be well (55) (for a long time) ...

### **Commentary:**

2-3 The reading is very uncertain, but probably this is written to both Pamour and Pagosh, from their father Psais. Thus, one should read: [ΠΑ]ΜΟΥΡ ΗΝ ΠΑΓ[ ] [ωω . ].

18, 29 ΜΟΥΧΤ̄: 'mix'. At 32, 32 the term is used for 'mix the warp'; but the process alluded to here is probably something different.

19 ΤΕΚΟ: 'destroy'. One supposes that Pshai is being critical.

20-21 ΖΗΤΑΖ̄ ΦΗΤ̄ | ΝΡΙΕ: Probably one should read 'two cells', even though the number usually follows the noun. The preceding verb (ΤΑΖ̄ . , or possibly ΤΑΧ̄ . ) is problematic. If Pshai's following comment about not have neglected to do something 'for the boy' relates to this, then maybe it is about supplying (work)rooms. But this is highly speculative. In any case, the meaning of ΡΙ(Ε) 'room' or 'cell' should be considered along with the other instances in the House 3 archive: 39, 35; 44, 7, 23; 81, 27; 120, 21. We think it probably means a 'workroom' here.

24 Τ[ ]ΝΔΥΖ̄: The reading is very uncertain.

25-26 ΗΠΖΟΥ | ΠΟΥ: 'from day to day', or simply an emphatic form for 'today' or 'this very day' (cf. CD 731a). Still, it is unclear to us what exactly this means. Is the situation particularly bad today, or is this something that is said daily? Does it mean that the 'place' is getting progressively worse, or perhaps it is 'difficult' on a day-to-day basis? For ΠΜΑ ΜΑΧ̄ ( 'the place is difficult'), cf. 31, 47. Presumably this is presented as the reason for delay; but of course we do not understand in what way it is difficult.

29 ΟΥΩΗΗ ΝΖΗ . . : 'a little ...'. Again, it is frustrating not to be able to read a word that might help to explain the process that he is discussing. Perhaps it is 'salt' (ΖΗΟΥ); but it seems an odd statement and the reading is very uncertain. Anyway, whatever it is is being sent to the boy to 'mix'.

50 ΩΑΙ ΠΠΕΟΥΑΥΝΕ: probably 'Peouaune' is a geographical rather than personal name; compare 'Peiaune' at 77, 14, 17 (and see the note ad loc.).

**P. Kellis Copt. 111****Inv #:** P 61J**Location:** House 3, room 8, deposit 4.

**Preservation:** This Coptic letter has been preserved complete on a single piece of papyrus. The dimensions are 162 x 52 mm. The ink is abraded in parts, but virtually the entire text can be read or reconstructed with confidence. It has been professionally written in a clear, rather square hand. The starts of lines 5 and 15 have been indented; and there is some basic punctuation.

**Content:** This is really a ‘double’ letter: The first 14 lines are from Pebo; the remainder by Olbinos, who even starts with a standard greeting and  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\mu\iota$  formula of his own. The contents are mostly about business matters, written in a straightforward and concise (even terse?) style. There are no greetings to women or children. Pebo is concerned about some ‘tetrads’ (see further the commentary), and Olbinos about items needed for textile manufacture. However, there are also interesting comments about persons and places; these are discussed below. It is difficult to place the persons involved here with any certainty. However, if these ‘tetrads’ are the same as in **35**, this could be the same Pshai (and also Andreas) as in the pair of letters **35-36**, and perhaps **37** and **59**. The name ‘Olbinos’ may occur at **88**, 24 (rather uncertain); but is not otherwise found in the House 3 archive. The general context of the letter is the Oasis, rather than the Nile valley (see further the note to 1. 32).

**Address:**

verso

τῶι ἀγαπητῶι X Ψάϊτι  
ἀδελθῶι Πέβος

To the beloved brother X Psais. (From) Pebos.

**Names:** Andreas; Hor; Olbinos; Pebo; Pshai;

**Text:**

- 1      πασαν ἡμεριτ ετταϊαιετ
- 2      ἡτοτ τονου πωαϊ ανακ
- 3      πεκσαν πεβο †ωινε αρακ
- 4      τονου ρῆ πχαειϛ χαιρειν /
- 5      επιλη ραϊχος νεκ χε ανι
- 6      μητ[ε] ἡτετραϛ ἡρητ ἡτωα
- 7      τῆ ραϊει αρηϛ αιωινε ἡ
- 8      ολ[βι]ῆνοϛ παχεϛ χε ἡουωω
- 9      νεϊ εν τηρου παχεϊ χε ἡ
- 10     μαη αρραν ατεκο ηιηνο
- 11     τηρου †νου πε ουαωρε
- 12     αϛρῆ[ι] ἡτετραϛ ρωβ αν
- 13     ηη [ετ]ραϊχος νεκ ετβητῆ
- 14     ἡπ[ω]ρραμελει αραϛ /
- 15     ανακ ολβινοϛ πετωινε α
- 16     πασαν ἡμεριτ ετταϊαιετ
- 17     ἡτοτ τονου πωαϊ ρῆ π
- 18     χαιειϛ χαιρειν / ραθη ἡ
- 19     ρωβ ηηη †ωινε αρακ το
- 20     η[ο]υ ἡἡἡωϛ ετβε ἡ
- 21     [κεκ]αγε εταϊταβϛκ ἡμαυ
- 22     αρ[ι] ημεγε ἡηηνο εταϊ
- 23     ἡ[τῆ] ηεκ χε χιτῆ ἡτοτῆ
- 24     [ἡτα]ηο ἡἡἡουαρρῆ αβαλ
- 25     [ωατ]ϛτεϛ νεκ ἡἡ πη
- 26     ω[†]τ ἡτε πασαν πωαϊ
- 27     εταρῆι α[β]αλ ρῆ ϛωμα
- 28     ρ[αϊϛ]ρῆι ηἡη ἡανδρεαϛ

29 Ε[Τ]ΒΗΤῪ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΚ ΔΡΙ  
 30 [. . .] . [ . . . ] . . . ΝΜΔΚ` ΝΚΒΩΚ  
 31 [ΝΚΧ]!ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΤῪ ΝΚΝ  
 32 ΤΟΥ ΝΗΪ ΝΤΟΤΚ ΔΖΗΒ Ε  
 33 ΚΝΔΕ ΔΚΗΜΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΖΑ  
 34 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΑΒΟ ΧΟΣ ΝΗΪ ΧΕ ΚΝ  
 35 ΗΥ ΔΖΗΒ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ  
 36 ΜΠ[Ρ]ΡΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΔΤΚΛΩΣΤΡΑ  
 37 ΝΚΥΙΤῪ ΝΤΟΤῪ  
 tr38 vac vac vac ΔΠῪ ΧΕΚΝΔΟΥΔΧΟΥ ΕΚΖΜΑΣΤ ΨΑΝΤΚΤΡΟΥΤΑΝΔΣ  
 39 vac vac vac ΔΥΨ †ΝΔΜΗΕ ΔΠΕΚΖΜΑΣ  
 v40 ΨΙΝΕ ΔΠΑΣΑΝ ΑΝΔΡῪΔΣ  
 41 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΜΝ ΖΩΡ †ΡΑΞΙ  
 42 ΟΥ ΝΜΩΤῪ [[Ε]]Ν[Δ]ΣΝΗΥ ΝΔ  
 43 ΧΙΣΔΥΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΤῪΔΡ̄ ΕΠΙΓΕΜ̄  
 44 ΝΥΡ̄ [[ΔΝΔ]] ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΗΪ

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1 ΕΤΤΑΪΔΕΙΤ: the scribe may in error have written ΕΨΑΪΔΕΙΤ (see ΨΑΪ in the following line)

34 ΠΑΒΟ: -Β- ex -Χ- corr.; ΧΕ: -Χ- ex corr. 36 ΚΛΩΣΤΡΑ: -Ρ- ex corr.

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(To) my loved brother, who is greatly honoured by me, Pshai. (It is) I, your brother Pebo. I greet you warmly in the Lord, - greetings.

(5) Since I told you: “Bring 10 tetrads north of the ditch” - I have come south. I asked Olbinos. He said: “We do not want all these”. I said: (10) “Surely (not), why would we want to destroy all these things?”. Is it now to stop writing the tetrads? Also, everything I have spoken to you about: Do not neglect it!

(15) I, Olbinos, am the one who greets my loved brother, who is very honoured by me, Pshai; in the Lord, - greetings.

Before everything, I greet you (20) warmly. Next, concerning the other things for which I implored you: Remember the item which I brought for you? Get it from my mother. Do not quit (25) until she gives it to

you; and the warp from my brother Pshai, who has just died. I have now written to Andreas about it. But, you, do (30) ... to you, and you go and get them from her, and bring them to me with you to Hibis; if you are going to Egypt. For my brother Pabo has told me that you are (35) coming to Hibis. But, most of all, do not neglect the thread (?); and you carry it from her. (tr) Be sure to cut them whilst sitting (or: 'remaining there'?) so that you get it made; and I will understand your (good) grace.

(v 40) Greet my brother Andreas warmly, and Hor. I ask you (pl.), my brothers, my masters, that you will take on (this) burden and do these things for me.

### Commentary:

Address: It is difficult to see whether the scribe has really indicated the final -ι at the end of τῶι and ἀγαπητῶι. Equally, what we suppose to be the final -ς for Πεβος (which usually would be spelt Πεβῶς) is oddly formed. There may be further ink-traces (from previous usage?) below this. Interestingly, the central X of the address has clearly been written after a strip of papyrus has peeled off. It also has a more elaborate form than the majority of examples in this archive. One may compare that at **20**; the design of **25** is the most elaborate example amongst the Coptic letters.

6, 12 ΤΕΤΡΑC: 'tetrad'. The term is also found at **35**, **37**, where it clearly refers to something written (C2Ei); although one should also compare the occurrence of ΤΕΤΡΑ at **19**, **27** in the midst of discussion about textiles. There, it obviously refers to some kind of physical object, or a standard measure or shape (e.g. 'square'?) of a known commodity. One might think about the use of 'pair' (Cαῖω or Ηῖ) in these texts (see further the notes at **79**, **20** and **106**, **42**). The crucial question is whether we are correct in our reading of C2E[i] at the start of l. 12. If so, then perhaps ΤΕΤΡΑC means 'quaternio' (of parchment or papyrus), and one should certainly compare the usage in **35**.

6-7 ΔΝΙ ... Ν2ΗΤ ΝΤΩΑΤC̄: 'Bring ... north of the ditch'. It is not entirely clear whether Pshai was supposed to bring the tetrads to or from the north. Presumably, Pebo gave these instructions in a previous letter (is the ἐπειδὴ of l. 5 temporal or causal?); but now he writes again to say that he has himself 'come south'. For usage of Ν2ΗΤ and ΑΡΗC, compare **25**, **44** and **49**. For 'the ditch' (CD 593b) as a (natural or man-made?) feature of the local landscape see also **15**, **25**: 'Pakous is south of the ditch, harvesting'. In any case, are we to understand that Pshai failed to do what he was asked, and consequently

Pebo has had to come looking for them? See further the note below about Hibis (ll. 32, 35) for a discussion of the geography.

7-8 ἀἰωμινε̅ ν̅|ο̅λ̅|βι̅|ν̅ο̅ς: ‘I asked Olbinos’. However, although the papyrus looks blank after ν̅ at the end of l. 7, there is in fact an ink-trace further on. We wonder whether to read ἀἰωμινε̅ ν̅[ϸ]̅ ‘I sought after’ or ‘enquired for’.

27 ‘.. who has just died’: lit. ‘.. who has come forth from (his) body’.

30 The missing clause must have been something like: ‘.. make a real effort’.

32, 35 ϷΗΒ: Heb, i.e. Hibis. In the Coptic texts from House 3 the only other reference is at **118**, 7; but both the city and the nome are named in a number of the Greek documents. The letter seems to imply that Olbinos and Pebo are actually in Hibis, from where (one supposes) they are writing to Kellis. Pshai would pass through on his way to the Nile valley. This might suggest that Pebo, having come south, has himself come from there. Does this suggest that the ‘ditch’ of ll. 6-7 refers to some feature of the road between what we now think of as the two separate oases of Dakhleh and Khargeh (but in antiquity were both part of the Great Oasis)? However, although Hibis is clearly south of where the desert road reaches the valley (nowadays in the vicinity of Siaut / Assyut cf. **81**, 28), it is due east of Kellis.

34 We presume that this Pabo is the same as the Pebo who wrote the first part of the letter.

36 ΤΚΛΩΣΤΡΑ: This must either be from the Greek κλωστήρ (‘thread’ or ‘spindle’), or the Latin *claustra* (‘key?’); see also **17**, 36 note ad loc. We prefer the former, given the reference to warp at l. 26.

37 The repeated references to ‘her’ in Olbinos’ letter, who is probably the same as ‘my mother’ (l. 24), and the discussion of items needed for weaving, suggest that this woman could be Tehat. She is very much involved in the textile business (see especially **18** and possibly **58**). One notes that the only other references in the archive to ΤΚΛΩΣΤΡΑ (‘thread’ l. 36) and to ΤΨΑΤ̅ (‘the ditch’ ll. 6-7) are in letters by Orion, who is the author of **18**.

38-39 It is noticeable that Olbinos writes this extra text only down the side of his own ‘letter’, as if anxious not to intrude on what Pebo has said. Note that the verb ΤΑΝΟ

'make' is always specifically used about tailoring in this archive, thus **18**, 4; **19**, 36; **44**, 1, 6, 25; **58**, 19.

39     ⲁⲮⲱ ⲧⲏⲁⲛⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏⲁⲧ: lit. 'and I will understand your grace'; but it probably just means 'and I will be obliged to you'.

43     ⲉⲡⲓⲄⲉⲛ̅: presumably ἐπιγεμίζω, or otherwise ἐπιγέμισις. Perhaps the author is asking his recipients to 'apply some pressure' on his behalf?

### **P. Kellis Copt. 112**

**Inv #:** P 61S + P 61V/W + P63A + P65D/G

**Location:** House 3, room 8, deposits 3 + 4.

**Preservation:** This is a very faded and partly erased letter written in Coptic on papyrus, sent by a certain Pshai (= Psais) to an unknown recipient. The piece is mostly complete (as reconstructed from nine fragments), though now broken along the centre and vertical folds. The original dimensions were 140 x 102 mm.

An unrelated Greek text (edited and published by K.A. Worp as P. Kellis I Gr. 50) has been written on the verso, where traces of the letter's address (i.e. text **112**) can also be discerned. On the recto, and over the right hand ends of the lines of Coptic, this Greek document is titled as: 'Receipt of Psais Tryphanes on behalf of Psais son of Kele, grandson of Patsire'. According to its introduction (ll. 1-2) the receipt was given by Psais Tryphanes to a Psais son of Pamour. Although K.A. Worp expressed uncertainty as to which piece was written first, it seems to us that the Greek has been written over the Coptic, and that there may well have been some deliberate attempt to erase the earlier text. In that case, one might suppose that the Coptic letter had been sent to Psais Tryphanes (or someone close to him), who then reused it when in need of something on which to make the receipt. However, that is most speculative; especially as the Greek document states that it was actually written on the author's behalf by Aurelius Titherios



son of Horpatos. On the problems of the name ‘Tryphanes’ see the note and references at 78, 35-36.

**Content:** The Coptic text is difficult to read, but typical of the style found throughout the House 3 letters. Although there is little of obvious value to be derived from the remaining text, it is certain that we are here dealing with characters found elsewhere in the archive. Compare e.g. the Tryphanes and Toni of 50, or the Psais Tryphanes of P. Kellis I Gr. 71 and 73; though indeed it is difficult to disentangle all the persons with common names.

**Address:** Some unreadable traces only, under the Greek text on the verso.

**Names:** Pollon; Pshai; Toni;

**Text:**

- 1 ΠΑϢϢΑΗ ΝΗΕΡΙΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΔΙΤ ΝΤΟΤ ΤΟΝΟΥ
- 2 Π..... ΕΤΕ[Π]Ϣ[ΡΕ]Η
- 3 ΖΑΛΛ ΖΝ ΡΩΪ.....
- 4 ΔΝΑΚ ΠΩΑΪ {†}†ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟ[ΝΟΥ ΖΝ ΠΧΑΪϢ]
- 5 [Χ]ΔΙΡΕΙΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ [ΝΙΜ †Ω]
- 6 ΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΕΪΦΛΗΛ ΑΠ[ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΔ ΠΚ]
- 7 ΟΥΧΕΕΙΤΕ vac ΔΡΙ[....].... [.....]
- 8 ΧΕ ΖΑΚΡ ΠΖ..... [....].. ΕΠΑ. [..]..
- 9 ΝΗΪ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΑΧ[Ε Ϣ]Ν[ΤΕ] Η. ΔΡΑ[.]....
- 10 ΔΡΑΚ ΧΙΤΟΥ Ν. [..].. [.]ωΠΕ [..]....
- 11 †ΝΟΥ ΔΝ. ΕΤΒ[.].....
- 12 [..] ΝΜΗ... ΗΠ... [.]Η. ΝΤ.....
- 13 Ρ. ΜΝΑΧΙΤϢ̄ [.....]... ΝΒΛΑΜ †ΝΟΥ
- 14 ΔΕ ΔΝ ΔΡΙ ΠΑΜ[ΕΥΕ] ΖΝ ΟΥΑΓΑΠ[Η].....
- 15 ΝΟΥΩΦΝ... [....]ΗΕΙ Ε. [..].... [....]
- 16 ΕΝ.. ΟΥΝΤ... Ν... [.].. Ν..... Φ[....]
- 17 †ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΚ..... [.... †]

- 18      ⲱⲒⲛⲈ ⲁ . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ . . ⲱⲒⲢⲈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ [ . . . . †]  
 19      ⲱⲒⲛⲈ ⲁⲛⲈⲧⲗⲁⲦⲒⲘ ⲦⲒⲢⲠⲮ ⲕⲁⲧ[ⲁ ⲛⲠⲮⲢⲈⲛ]  
 20              ⲉⲣⲣⲱⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲥⲉ ⲉϣ̣ⲟⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲗ[ⲗⲟⲓⲥ χ]ⲣⲟⲛ[ⲟⲓ]ⲥ

- (tr)21   ⲱⲒⲛⲈ ⲁⲢⲱⲦ ⲦⲱⲛⲒ ⲦⲠⲠⲠⲮ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲦⲁⲙⲠⲠ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲈⲕⲕⲛⲒⲠⲠⲠⲮ  
 22      ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲠⲗⲗⲱⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ Ⲧϣ̣ⲓⲙⲈ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲈⲕⲕⲱⲒⲢⲈ

22 Ⲧϣ̣ⲓⲙⲈ: -ϣ̣- ex -C- corr?

(To) my loved brother, who is greatly honoured by me; ... whose name is sweet in my mouth ... (It is) I, Pshai. I greet you warmly [in the Lord]; (5) - greetings.

Before [every]thing: [I] greet you warmly. I am praying to [God for your] well-being. Be ... , for you have made ... for me, on account of the 2 *maje* (?) ... (10) to you. Take them ... Now, ... receive it ... quickly. So, now again, remember me with love (?) ... (15) without ...

I greet you ... [I] greet ... and ... children and ... [I] greet all who are with you, each by [their name]. (20) I pray for your health for many years.

(tr) Greet father Toni warmly, and my mother and your brothers; and Pollon and his wife and his children.

### Commentary:

3      The text almost certainly continues after ϣⲛ ϣⲱⲓ with ⲛ̄ⲛⲠⲠⲠ ⲛⲓⲙ vel sim. ('all the time'), and then the recipient's name ('my brother N.N.'). However, the traces are unreadable.

8      ⲗⲁⲕⲣ̄ ⲡⲓⲗ . . . : perhaps ⲗⲁⲕⲣ̄ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕⲥ? However, ⲗⲁⲕ 'clothes' is not otherwise found with the masc. sg. article in these texts.

9      Ⲧⲛⲁϣ̣[Ⲉ ⲕ]ⲛ̄[ⲦⲈ] ⲛ̄ . ⲁⲢⲁ[ . ]: Perhaps one should read ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲢⲁ[ϣ̣] (i.e. '2 *maje* of nuts'); compare 44, 21. Still, the whole section is very uncertain.

19      ⲱⲒⲛⲈ ⲁⲛⲈⲧⲗⲁⲦⲒⲘ: The reading is a little difficult, as it looks more like ⲱⲒⲛⲁⲛⲈ . ⲈⲧⲗⲁⲦⲒⲘ. Perhaps a correction is necessary.

**P. Kellis Copt. 113****Inv #:** P 78A**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** Here are two fragments of a letter written in Coptic on papyrus, plus one unplaced scrap. The hand is rather coarse and distinctive, with the letters large and sometimes crudely-formed. The exact extent of missing text between the left and right sides of the column is difficult to determine, but it cannot be very much. Thus, presuming that one must read some form of the name Hermopolis at l. 8, followed by a link to the next clause (at minimum perhaps  $\overline{\text{m}\overline{\text{n}}}$ ]  $\text{K}\overline{\text{E}}$   $\text{C}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$  ‘and another two’), then one can restore  $\text{OYNTI[HEI Q]T}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}$   $\text{NAXE}$  ‘I have 4 *maje*’ at l. 6. In l. 7 it can not simply be  $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{E}}$   $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Z}}$  ‘the wife of Ierx ..’. We have provided an approximate estimate of the probable line lengths.

**Content:** The surviving text concerns small-scale business dealings involving women, such as are typical of many pieces in the archive. No names are preserved, but the reading of ‘Hermopolis’ is of interest.

**Address:**

verso

 $\tau\hat{\omega}$ ]  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\ \mu\{\text{ou}$ ] .  $\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$  [

To my master ...

**Names:** Ierx (Hierax?).**Text:**(x +)1 [ . . . . ] .  $\text{B}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}$  . [ . . . . . . . . ]2  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{I}}$  [ . . . . . . . . ]

3 [ . ]ε λ . . ΙΤΕ . [ . . . . . ΔΙ]  
 4 ΧΟϢ ΝΕϢ ΨΙΝΕ [̄ΝϢΑ . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
 5 ΝΟΥ ΚΨΕΤΟΥ [ . . . . . ] . Ε . . . ΔϢ  
 6 ΧΟϢ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤ[ΗΕΙ ς]ΤΟΕ ΗΔΧΕ  
 7 ̄ΝΤΟΤ̄ ̄ΝΘΙΜ[Ε . . . . ]Ε ̄ΝΙΕΡ̄Ξ ̄Ν  
 8 ΤΕΡΜΟΥΠ[ΙΟΛΙϢ . . . ]ΚΕ Ϣ̄ΝΤΕ ̄Ν  
 9 Τ̄Ν Τ̄ϢΨΕΡ[Ε . . . . . ] ̄ΝΠ̄Ρ̄ΡΑ  
 10 ΗΕΛΙ ΔΨΕΤ[ΟΥ . . . . . ]Υ Μ̄Ν̄ΔΡΚ  
 11 vac? ϢΙΤΕΒΑΛ[ . . . . . ] .  
 12 . [ . . . . . ]

tr(x +)13 [ +/- 20 ] . ΘΟΝ vac ἐρρω̄σθαί σε ε̄̄χο[μαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις

1 -Ϣ-: ex corr? 13 σε: or <σε>?

... Do not neglect ... [I] told you: Ask [after] ... (5) you demand from them ... You said: 'I have 4 *maje* from the wife ... Ierx of Hermopolis; (and there are?) another 2 from her daughter ...'. Do not (10) neglect to demand from them ... cast out ...

(tr) ... I pray for your health [for many years (... ?)].

### Commentary:

6-7 On the construction ΟΥΝΤΕ- ... ΝΤΟΤ= see the comments on p. 60 of P. Kellis V.

7 ̄ΝΙΕΡ̄Ξ ̄Ν|: One might suppose a rather poorly formed *hori* and understand the preposition ϑ̄̄ 'in'; but we prefer to read the penultimate letter as -Ξ. Indeed, it would be difficult to understand ̄ΝΙΕΡ in isolation. Probably Ierx is for the familiar name Hierax. Nevertheless, what comes before is a problem, as (explained *supra*) it seems one cannot read straight across from (Ϣ)ϑΙΜΕ ('.. the wife of Ierax of Hermopolis').

11 Μ̄Ν̄ΔΡΚ: This is rather obscure, especially if followed by a vacant space at the start of l. 12. One could otherwise take the *kappa* with the following verb ('.. you cast out'); but that still does not explain what precedes.

**P. Kellis Copt. 114**

**Inv #:** P 78Ji + P93B

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** The remains of the upper part (?) of a document written in Coptic on papyrus, restored from two fragments. The original dimensions and extent of lost text is unknown, but (judging from the abbreviated nature of the contents as preserved) the piece may not have been very large. Indeed, it is possible that the document is complete, as the lower lines have become badly abraded and difficult to read. The text appears to have been written on a spare rectangle of papyrus, and the whole construction reminds one of such pieces as **41**, **49** and **117**.

**Content:** Although it is written in epistolary form, this document is a reminder of financial transactions, amounts paid and owed. It is not possible to identify the persons named with any security.

**Address:** No address or title is preserved (the verso is blank), and may well not have been written.

**Names:** Philammon; Pshai;

**Text:**

- 1      τϣINE AΠAÇAÑ ΦΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ AΧOOC NEK
- 2      XE AP E OYNT EK NIÇAMT APAI ÇAEY MAXE ΠI
- 3      WT ΠΨAI XE . A . . . E EI NH I XE OYNT EI ΠA
- 4      [ωΠ . . ]ϨITB . OTI TCΩNE XE ÇIXI NÇAMT
- 5      [ . . . ]O . OTI NH ΠAΩΠI NE MMHI KIP E N
- 6      [ . . . . ]OYETAP I . [ . ] . ÇXE OYΩΩ ATPA

7 [ . . . . ] Μ̄Π ΠΙΩΤ ΠΨΑΪ . . . [ . ] . Ψ . . Π̄ΜΔΙ

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ΑΠΑΨΑΝ: looks more like ΑΠΑΠΑΝ? 3 ΟΥΝΤΕΪ: -Ε- ex corr.

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I am greeting my brother Philammon to say: “For what do I owe you these monies?”. Father Pshai says that (N.N?) came to me, (saying) that I have (am owed?) my [account] ... the sister, in that I received the money (5) ... and the account with me. You make ... want to cause ... and father Pshai ... me.

### Commentary:

1 †ΨΙΝΕ ... ΑΧΟΟϞ ΝΕΚ: lit. 'I greet ..'. The syntax seems somewhat unusual.

2 ΗΑΧΕ: This is another clear instance of an initial Η- for the common word ΠΑΧΕ- '(N.N.) says ..'. See the note at 73, 9,11 and compare other examples at 70, 32; 77, 14; 81, 9,26,54; 82, 39.

2-3 ΟΥΝΤΕ=: These are interesting instances of the construction discussed at p. 60 of P. Kellis V, although one would expect it to be followed by ΝΤΟΤ=. It must indicate some kind of debt or credit. Literally one reads here (in the first instance of l. 2): ‘.. you have these monies to me for what?’. Perhaps one might translate: ‘.. why are you holding these monies against me?’. The sense may well be that Philammon is holding up payment to the author against some supposed debt; but the whole scenario behind the document is difficult to reconstruct with so many uncertain readings.

4-5 Probably the same construction ending -ΟΤ̄ is repeated; but it does not seem possible to read e.g. ρΙΤΟΟΤ̄ or ΠΤΟΤ̄ in either instance.

### P. Kellis Copt. 115

Inv #: P 80A + P 81A

Location: House 3, room 6, deposit 4 south wall.

**Preservation:** This is an almost entirely complete and well-preserved letter, written in Coptic on papyrus. One detached fragment has been added to the mid left-hand margin (section of l. 44 reading  $\text{N}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}$ ). It is written in a fluent, attractive and practised hand; with extravagant flourishes at times. New sentences are indicated with enlarged initials (e.g. l. 9  $\text{ϩ}\bar{\iota}\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}$ , l. 13  $\text{X}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\circ}$ ). The formulaic farewell has been carefully indented, as with other professionally written pieces (e.g. **25**, **36**); but note that it is written in Coptic not Greek. The dimensions are 272 x 65 mm.; and the centre fold is apparent but unbroken. There is some smudging of the ink.

**Content:** Tegoshe writes a sorrowful letter to Pshai, detailing deaths and a sense of abandonment. The piece manages to rise above the stock phrases of so many others, to be an affecting and personal document. Contrary to the common situation in these letters, it appears that the author is in the Oasis (ll. 25-26) and writing to Egypt. Presumably Pshai brought the letter back to Kellis at some future time, from where it has now been recovered.

Many of the names found here are common to other documents in the archive, but it is somewhat difficult to identify the situation in this piece exactly. Our best hypothesis is that the author is that same Tagoshe who is the sister of the brothers Pamour and Pegosh, and the estranged wife of Kapiton / -ou; see **75**, 37-38 and the general discussion of **77**. However, this is by no means certain.

**Address:**

verso

$\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\ \delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\ \mu\bar{o}\bar{u}\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\ \text{X}\ \Psi\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\ \text{T}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\ \eta\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\phi}\bar{\eta}\ \sigma$   
 $\omicron\bar{\upsilon}$

To my master brother X Psais. (From) Tekysis, your sister.

**Names:** Ammon; Andreas; Hor; Maria (x 2); Nonna; Piena; Pshai; Tapshai; Tegoshe; Tsh(e)nbes;

## Text:

- 1       παχαῖς πασαν ἡμεριτ̄  
 2       ετ̄ταῖαῖτ̄ ἡτοτ̄ τονογ̄ πετε  
 3       πῦρεν ραλδ̄ ρῆ ταταπρο ἡνο  
 4       νιμ̄ εἰψηλη λογαωτῶ ρῆ  
 5       πσωνα ἡτε παρεψε χωκ  
 6       αβαλ πασαν πψαῖ ανακ  
 7       τεκσωνε τεδωψε τετςρῆῖ  
 8       νεκ̄ ρῆ παχαῖς χαιρειν  
 9       ρῖθη ἡρωβ νιμ̄ †ψινε το  
 10      νογ̄ ατκηῆτσαν ετηανογ̄ς  
 11      ἡῆ ναχισαγε ναψηρε  
 12      ναρια πιεῆα ἡῆ ρωρ  
 13      χος δε νηῖ ἡταψηρε  
 14      ναρια χε ἡπῖρταρο περνητ  
 15      ἡτοτ̄ χε ἡπρει λογαρπε α  
 16      βαλ επειδη ἡταῖογωρ α  
 17      πωτο α ἡψηρ[ε] ἡνον  
 18      να ψωνε αγῆογ̄ αῖρ̄ ἰα  
 19      βε ρωτ̄ ἡπκωδῆ θε ἡει  
 20      ἡτακ̄ δε πασαν ἡπῖρ̄ πα  
 21      ωβω αλλα θε ετ̄εῆεκ̄φι  
 22      ἡπαραγω̄ ἡῆῆα ἡπῖ  
 23      κατ αν ἡσωκ vac ψινε νηῖ  
 24      τονογ̄ αταχαῖς ταςωνε τα  
 25      πψαῖ χος νεσ χε νεῖτηψ  
 26      λει ακηνε ανακ̄ ἡῆ τκογῖ  
 27      α πμογ̄ ρε χιτ̄ ἡχῆαρ̄ αφφι  
 28      τῶ ἡτοτ̄ εγ̄ τε ταδαν̄ ἡν ερε ἡ  
 29      τας πε ἡογαετῶ αλλα ἡκεψη  
 30      ρε ἡνονηα αγῆογ̄ ρωογ̄ αν  
 31      αῖχι τχηλαε ἡτοτῶ ἡαν



32 ΜΦΝ ΠΡΟΖΑ ΠΕΤΑΚΤΗΝΑΥ[ϸ]/

33 ΤΗΡῪ ΔΙΧΙΤῪ ΜΠΡΡ ΠΑΦΒΦ

34 ΤΑΧΑ ΖΩΤ †δῆ θεε Ἰπωζ [α]

35 ΡΩΤῆ ΕΦΩΠΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΪ ΔΪ

36 ΝΑΔΩ ΕΪΣΜΑΝΤ ΦΙΝ[Ε]

37 ΝΗΪ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΤΑΣΩΝΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ

38 Μῆ ΝΕΣΦΗΡΕ Μῆ ΤΑΣΩ

39 ΝΕ ΤΦῆΒΗC Μῆ ΝΕCΦΗ

40 ΡΕ Μῆ ΟΥΑΝ ΝΙΜ` Εϸ† ἸΤΑΝ

41 ΝΕΚ ΩΝῪ ΝῬΟΥΧΕΪΤΕ Ν

42 ΟΥΝΑΔ ἸΟΥΑΪΦ ΠΑΧΑΙ[ϸ]

43 ΠΑΣΑΝ

tr44 ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΝΑΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΕΚ ἸΟΥΦ ΝΙΜ` Μῆ θεε ΤΗΡϸ` ΕΪΦΩΠ ΜΜΑC  
ΝῪΤΕΟΥΟ ΔΡΑΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΚΑΤ ἸΩΝῪ

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15 ΟΥΑΡΠΕ: -Π- ex corr. 22 ΜΠΡ pap. 44 ΩΝῪ pap.

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(To) my master, my loved brother who is greatly honoured by me: The one whose name is sweet in my mouth at all times; while I am praying to embrace him in (5) the body, and my joy will be complete. My brother Pshai: I, your sister Tegoshe, am writing to you in the Lord; - greetings.

Before everything: I greet (10) warmly your good brotherliness; and my masters, my children Maria, Piena and Hor. Now, say for me to my daughter Maria: “Do not force your heart (15) for me, do not be about to launch forth” - just because I am laid low. The children of Nonna fell ill and died. I, myself, developed pus; (and) I have not been able to come. (20) But, you, my brother: Do not forget me. Rather, just as you were taking care of me here (before), do not abandon me now.

Greet me warmly to my lady, my sister (25) Tapshai. Tell her that I was set to come to Egypt, myself and the little girl. Then death forced itself on me (and) carried her away. I am powerless. It is not only her; but (30) Nonna’s children also have died.

I received the cloth bag from Ammon of Roha (?). All that you have sent I have received. Do not forget me; and perhaps I can find a way to reach (35) you (pl.). If this happens I will stay being all right.

Greet me warmly to my sister Maria and her children, and my sister Tshenbes and her children, (40) and everyone who gives rest to you. Live and be well for a long time, my master, my brother. (tr) And my son Andreas will bear witness to you (sg.) of all the news and the state I am in, and he will tell you about my life's course.

**Commentary:**

Address The dative  $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\iota$  (rather than  $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\iota$ ) would indicate a form of the name as  $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . See, similarly, **64**, **70** and **72**. However, we doubt that this has any significance. No variation is made in the Coptic form Pshai; and we have continued to transcribe it as Psais.

It appears that the address was written when the letter had already been folded in half. Thus, the scribe has written  $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta\ \sigma$ , and (having run out of room) then completes  $\sigma|\rho\upsilon$  on the following line.

12 For the pair of brothers Piena and Hor see the introduction to the Ploutogenes letters.

14-17 Tegoshe's message to Maria sounds like the caricature lament of an old lady: 'Don't put yourself out on my behalf'. We have translated the passage rather freely. The noun  $\pi\omega\tau\omicron$  must be derived from  $\chi\tau\omicron$  'lie down' (CD 792ab); literally the phrase with  $\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta$  would mean something like 'I have settled to the lying-down', i.e. succumbed to sickness. However, note that our understanding of this passage can not be applied to the occurrence of  $\pi\omega\tau\omicron$  at **120**, 23; where it seems to be a toponym. The two instances might be reconciled if the word refers to some kind of place for convalescence, such as (perhaps rather anachronistic) a sanatorium or quarantine area. If so, Tegoshe's lament here would be better translated in a more material fashion as: '.. because I have been put in the sickness place'.

17, 30 Nonna: Perhaps the same as at **92**, 20-21 (where it is stated that she and her daughters are doing well).

23  $\lambda\eta$ : This could be translated 'again' or 'also'; but we have preferred a more neutral rendering as 'now'.

27  $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma$ : One wonders if 'the death' here might indicate plague (cf. CD 159b)?

28 'I am powerless': lit. 'What is my power?'. The following  $\eta\eta$ - and  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ - are both syntactically most remarkable. Since the context clearly demands the clause to be

negated and there is no other negation here, the element  $\mu\mu\text{-}$  can, as far as our familiar inventory of Coptic grammar goes, only be the negative existential; but it is used here to precede a focalising  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}$ , which in itself is quite unusual for a Nominal Sentence structure. Put another way, one may recognise in this usage one of the basic functional components of  $\mu\mu\text{-}$ , negating the existence (not of entities but) of entire states-of-affairs, as a reduced proclitic form of  $\bar{\mu}\mu\lambda\mu$  'no', in a construction that may also very well be resolved as: 'Not that it is her alone (but ..)'. And, incidentally, it is interesting to see how a matter of life and death, and the desperation of loss, brings out the most extraordinary examples of rhetorical syntax.

32 Roha: Probably a toponym. It could, of course, be the name of Ammon's father; but there is nothing similar recorded in Hasitzka's *Namen*. Either way, there are a number of figures named Ammon in these texts, and it is difficult to identify / distinguish them.

37 This must be a different Maria to the daughter that Tegoshe made her complaint to earlier. If our hypothesis is correct that the author is Pamour's sister, then this Maria would most likely be the latter's wife.

40-41 Note the repeated use of the term  $\dagger \bar{\mu}\tau\lambda\mu$  'give rest' in both the Orion and Ouales letters of volume one (P. Kellis V); especially the references and discussion there at p. 53. This is the only other instance in the archive, and the question remains whether it has some specific communal meaning (the other groups of letters have a clear Manichaean context). For translation, perhaps one might prefer something like 'brings calm to you' or 'sets you at peace'; or, even, a much freer 'everyone who pleases you'.

44 Presumably Andreas has carried the letter with him to the Nile valley.

### P. Kellis Copt. 116

**Inv #:** P 81E + P93B

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 4 south wall.

**Preservation:** Three fragments of inscribed papyrus can be joined to reconstruct a substantial section from the lower part of a letter written in Coptic. The original document may well have broken on the centre fold, with the upper half now entirely missing. Since what remains is 134 x 91 mm., this suggests an original height of approximately 268 mm.; which would be similar to a good number of the other larger letters: e.g. **80** (274 mm.), **82** (276 mm), **105** (274 mm.), **106** (270 mm.). Many of these pieces are not as wide as **116** (which must have originally exceeded 100 mm.); but compare **80** (274 x 103 mm.) and imagine a left hand strip missing from the centre fold down. However, in contrast to that piece, this scribe has filled the entire available space with his distinctive small and slanted (to the right) script.

**Content:** The major part of this document (P81E) was found together with the major part of **82** = P81E(a). Although the letters have different authors (**82** was written by Philammon to Loishai, i.e. Theognostos), the two pieces clearly stem from the same context in the Nile valley. In the other piece Kapiton is about to come to Egypt from the Oasis; here he has already visited and left for Antinoou. The latter city also features in the Makarios family letters (cf. **19**, **21**, **25**), which are clearly linked to those of Philammon through the figure of Lysimachos. Note also the reference to doing business there at P. Kellis Gr. I 71, 16. Thus, this letter belongs to those characters and events that are central to the House 3 archive. The author may indeed be the same as that Tapshai in Egypt greeted in the previous letter (**115**, 24-26), as well as a number by Makarios and his son Matthaios (**19**, **25**, **26**) and also by Pamour and Maria (**65**, **67**, **68**). However, there could very well have been more than one person of this name (see the repetition at **65**, 44 and 48). Pshai, the recipient of this letter, may be the author's husband (note **67**, 34-35). However, in the text Tapshai is mostly addressing a woman, perhaps Tegoshe (see the note to l. 5). In that case, the address to Pshai would simply be the usual practice in a patriarchal society, where he is the husband or male 'guardian' of the recipient (compare **115** for these persons). Alternatively, it may be because a substantial part from the start of the letter is lost, and in that first half Tapshai has addressed Pshai.

**Address:**

verso

κυρί]φ μου/ ἀδελφῶι                    X                    Ψάϊτι ἡ ἀδελφή σου Τεψάϊ[ς]

To my master brother X Psais. (From) your sister Tepsais.

**Names:** Eni; Jmpnoute; Kapiton; Lammon; Maria; Pshai; Tabes; Tepsais; Titoue;

**Text:**

x+1 [.....]. [..]. [.....]. [.....]. [..]  
 2 [.....] ]ε νῆνεϭ οϩω εϭνῆνε ἀπεσεσε· εῖσαγνε ἀν  
 3 [..... οϩ]ηοϩ ῆμαϭ· τῆνῆντῶβηρ· νακῆντῆ ἐν ἀβαλ α  
 4 [.....] ]ε τῶπρηρε τονοϩ ῆν ῆ]ῆ]ῆ]εσε ετενερετεοϩ  
 5 [ο ῆμαϩ ..... ]ῆοῆν ῆσεσε ῆπῆρω εῆπεει ἀβαλ τεῆ τκοϩ  
 6 [ῆ ..... ] εῆβητῆ καν ἀνη εῆβε πκοῆι σε ϭτεοϩο ῆπερεν  
 7 [.....] ]ῆ ἀραν τῆοϩ· εῆπατε πῆῶτ βωκ ἀη[α] εϭοῆοϩ  
 8 [.....] ]τῆραμπε· ϭρηῆ ἀραν· εῆωπε εῆναϭι νῶατ· ϩα  
 9 [..... ν]ῆτῆ ϭκη ἀρῆῆ σε ῆποϩαῖω εῆανει ἀκημε· ε  
 10 [.....] ]· ϩαπῶϭ [·]. [·] ]σε τεει· θε εῆτερε πνοϩτε νασρτω  
 11 [τῆ ..... π]αसान καπιτ[ων] ωνε ἀρωτῆ· ῆταϭβωκ λαητινοϩ  
 12 [.....] ]ε τῶνε ἀ[τανο] ναρια ῆν ῆνι ῆν νεσῶρηε  
 13 [.....] ]ωνε ἀπῆ[ωτ τ]οϩε ῆν λαημων· τῶνε ἀταβηϭ·  
 14 [.....] ]· τ .. [ ... εῆω]πε εῆναδῆ θε ῆντῆ· ῆε ῆπῆρω  
 15 [εῆπε ..... ]τοϩ[ ..... τ]ῶατ ῆλαγε εῆ· τογεῶτε ῆπῆοϩ  
 16 [τε .....] ]· ἀρωτῆ εῆ· ῆτακ δε पासαν  
 17 [.....] ]αϭω σεϭεῖ νῆνεϩ τῆνο ἀρωτῆ  
 18 [.....] ]σεπνοϩτε ῆν νεσῶρηε· κο η[  
 19 [.....] ]· ἐν ασεῖ ῆτῆ· ἐρῶσθαί σε  
 20 vac εῆχομαι πολλοῖς  
 21 χ[ρ]ό[νο]ις κύριέ μου

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address ῆ: ῆ pap. 16 ἀρωτῆ:-n ex corr.

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**P. Kellis Copt. 117**

**Inv #:** P 91B

**Location:** House 3, room 6, deposit 5.

**Preservation:** This is a ‘spare’ rectangular strip of papyrus (43 x 94 mm.), with Coptic text written across the fibres. It seems to be mostly complete in one piece; although some small edge fragments are breaking away, and the lower left hand corner is lost (but was probably not inscribed). However, it is possible that a further fragment of inscribed papyrus has been lost from the right hand side, which could explain some of the textual difficulties (see below). One should compare **114** and the other pieces referenced there.

**Content:** This is a brief note rather than a letter, but still with a number of problems. In particular, what is the meaning (and indeed syntax) of the initial governing construction  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{TOYMH}\zeta\text{E}$ ? Whilst the reading itself is not entirely clear, we have supposed  $\text{MH}\zeta\text{E}$  (CD 186a) and translated ‘their offspring’; but this still leaves the function of the initial  $\text{N}$ -somewhat problematic (‘To ..?’). Is it conceivable that there could be some connotation such as: ‘On their birthday’ (though this should rather be  $\zeta\text{OYMH}\zeta\text{E}$  CD 185ab and masc.). Alternatively, the  $\text{MH}\zeta\text{E}$  might refer to financial interest; or could it even be possible that Toumese is in fact a third name to go with Senapollo and Gena (cf.  $\text{T}\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\zeta$  under  $\text{MH}\zeta\text{E}$  ‘midwife’ CD 186b). For the lexical range of the words  $\text{MH}\zeta\text{E}$  and  $\text{MH}\zeta\text{E}$  see CD 184b-186b.

Further to those problems, it remains unclear who actually is being greeted ( $\omega\text{I}\text{NE}$ ) and by whom. Presuming that the initial  $\text{TOY}$ - is the possessive ‘their’, and fem. to agree with  $\text{MH}\zeta\text{E}$ ; it must still be noted that the latter is singular. Again, why is ‘her sister’ mentioned twice; and is Partheni the name of a second sister, or in fact the sender of the piece with her name subscribed at the close?

Finally, one must reckon with the possibility that some text has been lost at the end of both lines 1 and 2. We take the unusual step of providing some alternative ways of understanding the text.

**Address:** The verso is blank and there would have been no address.

**Names:** Gena; Partheni; Senapollo; (Toumese?);

**Text:**

- 1     ⲛⲧⲔⲔⲛⲏⲄⲈ ⲈⲚⲀⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲛⲏⲛ ⲄⲈⲛⲀ  
2     ⲧⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲀⲧⲈⲈⲈⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲛⲏⲛ ⲧⲈⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲛⲏⲛ ⲧⲈ  
3     ⲈⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲔⲀⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ

---

2 ⲧⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ: for ⲈⲧⲔ-, or perhaps for ⲧ<Ⲕ> / ⲧ- or even ⲧ<ⲛ>-?

---

(It is) their offspring, Senapollo and Gena, who greet her (i.e. Senapollo's?) sister and her mother, and her sister Partheni.

*or perhaps:* On (this?) birthday: Senapollo and Gena greet her sister and mother and sister Partheni.

*or even:* For Toumese, Senapollo and Gema. I greet her (i.e. my) sister and mother and sister. (From) Partheni.

*or, presuming some lost text:* To their offspring: Senapollo and Gena ... greets her sister and her mother and her ... sister Partheni.

**Commentary:**

1     Senapollo: cf. Jnapllo at 64, 32. There are a number of names in the archive constructed in this familiar fashion (i.e. Tse- or xε- for ⲧⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ) 'the daughter of ..').

Gena: Probably the same name as found elsewhere in the archive (i.e. a form of Piena / Iena), in which case it is masc.; or possibly one could read Gema.

2     ⲧⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ: It is difficult to know whether this - presumably erroneous - text was intended to continue what had gone before (i.e. a relative construction 'Senapollo and



Gena who greet ..'), or marked the start of a new sentence (i.e. a first present tense 'I / We greet ..').

### P. Kellis Copt. 118

**Inv #:** P 92.1

**Location:** House 3, room 4, floor surface.

**Preservation:** A papyrus fragment preserving the upper portion of a letter written in Coptic (and Greek) in a tiny script; now 24 x 49 mm. The original dimensions are unknown, but the width is probably completely preserved (although the right hand edge of the recto is eroded in places). Exceptionally, the 'recto' is the side with vertical fibre; the 'verso' with horizontal.

N.B. There are four other small fragments glassed with this piece at P92.1, also in tiny script. They appear to be from a number of other texts (at least two) and can not be joined with **118**. Consequently, they have not been edited here; but there remains a small possibility that some could belong to this document. It may be noted that one of them preserves part of the address on the verso: It was evidently written to Psais (read Ψάϊτι) from Andreas.

**Content:** There is little text preserved, but the piece is of interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is the remarkable small, fluent script; and the way that the bilingual scribe switches from the formulaic Greek opening into Coptic, but then forgets himself by writing ΠΑΝΤΩΝ for ΤΗΡΟΥ ('all of them') in l. 4. In l. 7 the form ΔΗΜΩΝΗ would also seem to betray a Greek form. Secondly, as regards content, readable text on the verso ends with a rare reference (in the Coptic material) to the Roman administration. Prosopographical cross-referencing (cf. the note to l. 6) suggests that this piece could belong with the Ouales letters (**35, 36, 59**); which are all themselves distinguished by a fluent use of Greek.

**Address:** None preserved.

**Names:** Ammon; Bale (i.e. Ouales or Belle?); Bo (?); Hor; Iena; Pshai;

**Text:**

1 κυρίωι μου ἀδελφῶι ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
 2 χαίρειν ριθη ἡρωβ νιη` τψινε  
 3 ἀρακ τονοϋ ἡἡ παχαῖς παιωτ ἡἡ  
 4 ἡἡεσνηϋ εθατηκ παντων ροϋι ἡδδ  
 5 ἡἡ [π]ψαι ἡἡ ιενα ρωρ ἡἡ . [ . . . ]

-----

v(x +)6 ρα βο . . γ . ἱ τἡϋοϋ ἡἡπἱωτ βαλε ἡἡαν

7 ρψ ἀἡἡωἡι ἀϋβωκ ἀἡ ἀρἡβ

8 ρα πτριβοϋἡοϋ . . . ρ . . . . .

9 traces

6 Τἡϋοϋ: right hand upright of the -N- overwritten by the following -X-; ἱωτ: ἱ- looks like ἡ-

To my master brother. (From) the brother; - greetings.

Before everything: I greet you warmly; and my master, my father; and the other brothers who are with you, all of them, young and old; (5) and Pshai and Iena (and) Hor and ...

(v) on account of Bo (?) ... and we will tell father Bale: "No indeed". Ammoni has also gone to Hibis on account of (?) the tribune ...

**Commentary:**

4 ΠΑΝΤΩΝ: The bilingual scribe / author has slipped into Greek, when for 'all of them' he should have given the Coptic τἡροϋ.

5 It is better to presume that Iena and Hor are two persons (rather than a single name Ienahor), for reasons discussed in the introduction to the Ploutogenes group of letters.

6 Bo may be a name, as the same occurs in the KAB (ll. 600, 901, 1306, etc.). This is probably an abbreviated form of Pebo, which occurs a number of times in the House 3 archive. However, we do not understand the complex following ‘Bo’, and perhaps another solution can be found. We have transcribed ρΑ ΒΟ . . . γ . ï, but this is difficult to explain. At the start one might try an -γ- ligatured with some other letter; in which case it could be ρΑΒ- ‘send’ plus the indefinite article ΟΥ. But, again, one can make no sense of what follows. A rather ambitious alternative could be ρΑ ΒΟΥΛ . . . . or even ρΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΥ . ΝΤΝΧΟC (reading ν- for the following conjunctive rather than a final -ï). Obviously, Greek words beginning βουλ- suggest a number of interesting possibilities, especially if the construction is set in parallel to the ρΑ ΠΤΡΙΒΟΥΗΟC of l. 8. But this is very speculative, and does require a scribe who switches between Coptic and Greek without thinking.

Bale is a better reading than Blle; but could be same name as Belle(s), which is spelt in various ways in the Coptic texts. Interestingly, these two name (Pebo and Belle) mean, respectively, ‘dumb’ and ‘blind’ in Coptic; see CD 38a and 178ab. Alternatively, Bale could be for Vales. Although this name is spelt Ouales in **35** and **36** (and restored in **59**), in each instance it occurs only in the Greek address or opening formula; i.e. we have no Coptic spelling of the name from the Kellis texts. Interestingly, at **36**, 10 we should probably read ‘Iena and [Hor]’. Given that the Ammon of **37** is a probable associate of that Ouales, this correspondence of names could well indicate that **118** belonged to the same circle. Ouales was almost certainly a professional scribe and of Manichaean belief; and the group of letters associated with him is particularly interesting.

7 ΔΜΜΩΗΙ: Perhaps read ‘Ammoni(os)’?

8 ΤΡΙΒΟΥΗΟC: The reading is convincing, and must be for τριβούνοC / *tribunus* (cf. LSJ supp. 295b). We think it is unlikely to be a personal name, because of the preceding definite article; although otherwise the word can be used as such (cf. *Namen*). It is not clear exactly what force the preceding preposition ρΑ has, given that we do not know the context; it could mean ‘at’, ‘by reason of’, ‘for’, ‘under’, ‘on behalf of’, or even ‘against’.

**P. Kellis Copt. 119**

**Inv #:** P92.15B

**Location:** House 3, room 1, deposit 1.

**Preservation:** Here are four fragments of inscribed papyrus, which probably belong to a single letter written in Coptic. Two fragments can be joined to read the start of three lines of transverse text down the margin; and thus probably belong to the upper left-hand corner of the document (compare e.g. the published plate of **25**). The verso is not inscribed, and the address was probably written on this half of the original letter (now almost entirely lost). The other two fragments preserve the beginning and end of lines on the verso, and thus belong to the lower half of the original document (again compare **25**). In fact, where these lines end on the verso one can see the centre fold. So, whilst these factors give a general idea of the placing of the four fragments in terms of the original document, we still do not know exactly how long any of the lines were or the actual dimensions. Line lengths given in the edition below are purely illustrative of the probable range. The line numbers are simply for the purpose of reference, although we have made an assumption that the document may have been similar in proportions to a letter such as **31** (which the hand in some ways resembles). This gives about 50 lines of text on the recto. Therefore l. 25 is the number given to the line immediately above the centre fold; and l. 50 here is the one at the foot of the page, followed directly by the first line in the margin.

This reconstruction makes good sense, but there is one anomaly. It means that the scribe must have added a transverse final line of text on the verso (i.e. l. 66); perhaps greetings to 'all, great and small'. This is unusual, but the alternative of trying to reverse the fragment, so that the transverse text corresponds to the end of a line in the margin of the recto, is simply too problematic.

**Content:** There is little sense to be made of what is preserved, apart from the usual extensive greetings and a reference to coming to the Oasis (but it is uncertain whether the author is there or in the Nile valley).

**Address:** No address is preserved.

**Names:** Loutou; -a;

**Text:**

1     π[ . . . . . ]

2     [ . . . . . ]

3     . [ . . . . . ]

4     π[ . . . . . ]

5     Ϸ . [ . . . . . ]

6     . [ . . . . . ]

7     ΓϺ[ . . . . . ]

8     ϸ . [ . . . . . ]

9     αη[ . . . . . ]

10    .ΤΟ[ . . . . . ]

*unknown number of lines lost*

23    [ . . . . . ]ϩΠϺ . . . . . [ . . . . . ]

24    [ . . . . . ]ϺΜΑΥ ἸϷΟΥΟ [ . . . . . ]

25    [ . . . . . ]ΠΚΕϷΟΛΟΚ[ΟΤΙΝΟϸ]

26    [ . . . . . ]ΕΤ]ΑΚΤΕϺ ΝΕϺ [ . . . . . ]

27    [ . . . . . ] ΔΝϸΑϷῶ η[ . . . . . ]

28    [ . . . . . ]Υ\* ΧΕ ϷΑϷ [ . . . . . ]

29    [ . . . . . ] . \* ΔΝΔΝ . [ . . . . . ]

30    [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]

*unknown number of lines lost*

44    [ . . . . . ] . . ΔΛ ἸΟΥΑΤ[ . . . . . ]

45    [ . . . . . ] Τ]ΗΝΕ\* Ἰ Π . [ . . . . . ]

46    [ . . . . . ] ἸΜΑΥ ΕΝ\* ΕΥ[ . . . . . ]

- 47 [ . . . . T ] ΕCΔΑΜ' ΟΥΤ[ . . . . . ]
- 48 [ . . . . . ] Τ †ΝΟΥ . [ . ] . [ . . . . . ]
- 49 [ . . . . . ] . ΔΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΔ[ . . . . . ]
- 50 vac? ἸΟΥΝΑΔ ἸΟΥ[ΔΙΩ vac? ]
- (tr)51 †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕCἸCΩΚ' . [ . . . . . ]
- 52 ΕΙ ΔΟΥΑΖΕ' ΔΙΔἸΤC ΔΚ[ . . . . . ]
- 53 ΔΙCΖΕΙ' ΔΙΤΑΜΑΚ [ . . . . . ]
- about five lines lost?*
- (v)59 ΜἸ ΝΕCΩ[ΗΡΕ . . . . . ] ΜἸ Τ[Ḳ]
- 60 CΖΙΜΕ' ΜἸ [ . . . . . ] . Δ ΜἸ ΤC
- 61 ΩΕΡΕ ΩΙΝ[Ε . . . . . Μ]Ἰ ΝΟΥΩΗ
- 62 ΡΕ ΩΙΝΕ ΔΡΩ[ΤἸ . . . . . ] Ε ἸΛΟΥΤΟΥ
- 63 [ . . ] ΝΠΙΘΕ Μ[ . . . . . ] . . Ε
- a small number of lines lost?*
- (tr)66 [ . . . . . ] ΚΟΥἸ vac

(To) ... (5) ... (10) ... (15) ... (20) ... more ... (25) ... the other *holokottinos* [that] you paid him ... We have written it to (you?) ...; in that many ... We (?) ... (30) ... (35) ... (40) ... (45) you (pl.), or ... not, as they ... its / her power, nor (?) ... Now ... according to ... (50) for a long time.

(tr) Now, then, it depends on you (masc. sg.) ... come to the Oasis. I found it, you ... I have written, I have informed you ...

(v) ... (55) ... (I greet warmly) ... and his sons ... (I greet warmly) ... and his (60) wife and ... -a and her daughter. Greet ... and their sons greet you (pl.) ... from / son of (?) Loutou; and we (?) are persuaded ... (65) ... (tr) [Greet everyone there by name, old and (?)] young.

### Commentary:

9 The initial Δ- looks like it may be writ large and thus the start of a new sentence; possibly ΔΝ[ΔΚ].

50 Here there is clearly a form of the common final formula, preceded almost certainly by 'be well for me (ΟΥΧΕἸΤΕ ΝΗἰ)' or similar, and perhaps followed by 'according to my prayers'. However, the author then continues in the margin and overleaf, as in many other examples (e.g. 31).

60 There is almost certainly a woman's name here ending in -α, or quite possibly -ια. The obvious candidate would be Maria, but there are other possibilities.

62 There is a Loutou at 47, 15, 17; but there is no particular reason to suggest that this is the same person.

### P. Kellis Copt. 120

**Inv #:** P 92.17

**Location:** House 3, room 11, deposit 2.

**Preservation:** This is a complete letter, written in Coptic on papyrus, and recovered in one piece. The dimensions are 176 x 56 mm. The hand is regular and clear to read. The text is almost entirely complete; despite some erosion of the papyrus down the right-hand edge, and a number of small holes in the fabric. Nevertheless, a few words (although clear to read) remain problematic.

**Content:** There is a particular interest in the reference to various Christian or Manichaean books at the start of the letter. Unfortunately, the context of the document is most uncertain. Most obviously, one wonders if this is another letter by Pegosh to his brother Pamour; but the spelling of the author's name as 'Pekos' makes this debateable. Somehow, the style of the letter is rather different from the majority of House 3 letters in Coptic. There are strange spellings and oddities, but it is difficult to speculate about the cause on such meagre evidence.

**Address:**

verso

α . . Παμοῦρ X Πεκῶς

(Deliver to?) Pamour. X (From) Pekos.

**Names:** Lamon; Pabo; Pamour; Pebo; Pekos; Psemnouthes; Tagoshe;

## Text:

- 1 †ϣINE ΔΡΑΚ ΤΟΝΟΥ  
 2 ΠΙΧΩΝ ΕΤΗΤΟΤῸ̅ Ν  
 3 ΛΑΜΩΝ ΤΑΡΕ ΝΙΠΡΑ  
 4 ΖΕΙC ῥΡΙϚ Ἰ̅ΤΑϚ ΠΕΥ  
 5 ΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΟΥἸ̅  
 6 ΤϚ ΝΗἸ Ἰ̅ΤΟΤϚ Ἰ̅ΠΙ  
 7 ΩΤ vac ΠΑΒΟ  
 8 ††Ε Ἰ̅ΜΑΧΕ Ἰ̅ΚΗ  
 9 ΤΕ Ο . [ . ] . Υ Α†ΗΑΠΤ[ . ]  
 10 ΚΤΡΟΥἸ̅ΤῸ̅ ΝΗἸ ΝΚΑ  
 11 ΚΕΥΕ ΝΕ ΔΛΑΚ ΔΡΑΚ  
 12 ΨΑ†ΖΑϚΟΥ ΝΕΚ  
 13 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΜΠΧΙ †Ε  
 14 ΠΙCΤΟvacΛΗ ΤΤΑῸ̅ ΧΑΥ Δ  
 15 ΠΗἸ Ἰ̅ΠΩΤ ΠΕΒΟ Ἰ̅  
 16 CΩC CῤΕἸ ΝΗἸ Ἰ̅  
 17 ΟΥΩῤ ΝΙΜ Ἰ̅ΠΙῤΟΟΥ  
 18 CΝΟ ΝΙΨΟΥ ΟΥΑΝ  
 19 ΤΟΥΗῤΤῸ̅ Ἰ̅ΤΠΕ ϚΙ  
 20 ΤΟΥ ΔΗ ΑΠΙΤἸ̅ ΚΑΥ Ἰ̅  
 21 ῤΟΥἸ̅ΤΡΙΕ Ἰ̅Πῤ  
 22 ΔΩ ΔΜΠΚΩΕ  
 23 ΑΠΩΤΟ ΔΝΟΥ ΔΠΡΩ  
 24 ΝΕ ΧΕ ῤΑΥΒΩΚ Ἰ̅  
 25 CΑ ΠΩΤ Π†ΕΜΝΟΥ  
 26 ΘΗC ΔΕ ΕΚΨΑΝCΩΤΗ  
 27 ΚΕΙ ΚΝΟ ΔΡΑϚ ΔΡΙ  
 28 ΝΕΡ ΝΗἸ ΑΠΩΤ ΠΕ  
 29 ΒΟ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΤΟΥΟ  
 30 ΧΕ ῤΑΪΧΟC ΔΡΑϚ



31 ΜΑΡΕ ΤΑΔΟΥΕ  
 32 † ΠΩΕ ΝΕΚ ΝΙΔΗ  
 33 ΔΩΡ ΚΤΡΟΥΝΤΟΥ  
 34 ΝΗΪ  
 v35 ΧΟΥ ΜΗΤ ΔΗ ΝΠΚΟΥΪ

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2 ΧΩΜ: read ΧΩΜ<Ε> 13 ΕΜΠΧΙ- sic, read ΕΜΠ<Κ>ΧΙ- 15 ΝΠΠΩΤ: Ν- ex Δ- corr. 17 read ΟΥΩ ΝΙΜ 18 ΝΙΩΟΥ: -Υ ex corr? 30 ΔΡΑΔ: -Ρ- ex corr. 33 ΝΤΟΥ: final -Υ- very poorly formed

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I greet you warmly. (About) this book that Lamon has: Let the *Acts* be copied. But the (5) *Gospel*: Let them bring it to me from father Pabo.

These 5 *maje* of figs ... (10) you let them bring it to me. (As for) the other ones: Wait until I send them to you. If <you> did not receive this letter, make him give (it) and send (it) to (15) the house of father Pebo.

Next, write to me any news of these two days. These ... above: Take (20) them down again (and) put them inside the cell. Do not delay to go to the place for convalescence (?) to see the man, for they have gone (25) after the father. But, (as for) Psemnouthes: If you should hear (about him), you come (and) see him. Do remind father Pebo for me about the repayment (?); (30) for I said to him: "Let Tagoshe give you the 100 talents (and) you have them brought to me". (v35) Also, send 10 to the boy.

### Commentary:

Address: The traces preceding Pamour's name are not very convincing for the expected ἀπ(όδος) 'Deliver to ..'. There may also be some ink traces after the central cross preceding 'Pekos'.

3, 5 The causative conjunctive (l. 3) and the causative infinitive (l. 5) both seem to be used here as imperatives; i.e. instead of ΜΑΡΕ-.

3-5 The 'Acts' and the 'Gospel' could obviously be Christian works, but are more likely in this context to be Manichaean. The 'great' or 'living' *Gospel* was one of Mani's chief works, but is now not extant. The opening is preserved in both Greek and Middle Iranian (see I. Gardner, S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 2004: 156-159). The Manichaean community also circulated copies of the

so-called ‘Leucian’ Acts, and a text related to the *Acts of John* was found in House 3 (cf. P. Kellis VI Gr. 97). On this see now also O. Zwielerlein, ‘Die Datierung der Acta Iohannis und der Papyrus Kellis Gr. Fragm. A.I’, *ZPE*, 174, 2010: 65-84.

4        ρριϥ: We understand ρι ρβ ‘take a likeness’, i.e. ‘copy’; cf. CD 701b.

9        We can make no sense of the text here.

13-14    †επιστολη ‘this letter’: This can not be the letter that we are reading here. Given the clear reference to actual books in the opening lines, it is possible that it refers not to a personal letter but to Mani’s (book of) *Epistles*; or conceivably Paul. We know that both of these circulated in the community at ancient Kellis, because remnants of such codices were found in House 3 (6, 53 and perhaps 54); and indeed they are referred to explicitly at 19, 82-83.

14        τταβ̄: We have understood the verb ττο ‘make give’ or ‘require’, and thus read ‘make him give (it)’. However, the -β̄ is strange (for -ϥ), and one might prefer to understand ετ(τ)αβε ‘which is sealed’. If τοϥηϥτ in l. 19 is understood as <ε>τοϥηϥ (see below), then one could well-argue that the scribe regularly omitted the initial ε- of a relative construction. Thus here one could read ‘the sealed letter’. Although it would seem most unlikely, it should be noted that the last *Epistle* Mani wrote in prison was known as *The Seal Letter*. Fragments of this important text have been recovered from Central Asia, see e.g. C. Reck, ‘A Sogdian Version of Mani’s *Letter of the Seal*’, in J.D. BeDuhn (ed.), *New Light on Manichaeism*, Leiden-Boston 2009: 225-239. However, it can be supposed that it also circulated in fourth-century Egypt, and indeed the name is preserved on a leaf of the *Kephalaia* codex held at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (i.e. *The Chapters of the Wisdom of my Lord Manichaios*). There is currently a major project by I. Gardner, J. BeDuhn and P. Dilley working to edit the codex. It reads τεπιστολη η̄τϥφραγικ; and the passage can be viewed in the facsimile edition published by S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library. Vol. I Kephalaia*, Genève 1986, pl. 326: 6. Coptic τωβε is the usual equivalent to σφραγίζειν.

15        It may well be that this ‘father Pebo’ is the same as the ‘father Pabo’ of l. 7; and see also ll. 28-29.

18-19 ΝΙΨΟΥ ΟΥΑΝ ΤΟΥΗΖΤ: This complex is incomprehensible to us as it stands. We have separated the elements corresponding to apparent divisions made by the scribe; but this may not be correct. One could try ΝΙΨΟΥΟΥ ΑΝ ΤΟΥΗΖΤ: ‘Also, these ΨΟΥΟΥ (a plural noun) which are set above (i.e. understanding here <ε>ΤΟΥΗΖ with the final -Τ either as an error or an unattested form)’. The following clause suggests that the author is talking about some items that are hung or otherwise placed high up for some reason; e.g. wall-hangings or something put up to dry? But these are little more than guesses.

21 As elsewhere in these texts, the precise implications of the ΡΙΕ ‘cell’ are impossible to gauge (‘monastic’ or ‘prison’ cell, ‘room’ in a house, ‘storeroom’?). Cf. CD 287b-288a for the range of meanings.

23 ΠΨΤΟ: ‘place for convalescence (?)’. For this interpretation, see **115**, 14-17 note ad loc.; but perhaps one should just read ‘Pshto’. See also perhaps the end of **41**, 16 (where it may be that the same should be read or restored); and perhaps **43**, 5 (destroyed context).

24-25 There is no way to know who has ‘gone after’ the father, or what the implication might have been.

25-26 The use of the Greek form of the name Psemnouthes (rather than Pshemnoute) is surprising. One wonders if the author or scribe was not a native speaker of Egyptian. It is possible that this is intended as a vocative: ‘But, Psemnouthes, if you should hear ...’.

29 ΠΤΟΥΟ: We have supposed in the translation that this is for ΤΟΥΙΟ ‘repayment’; but that is a guess based on the sense of the passage. It is possible that further letters were originally written; but the following lines suggest that from here on the scribe finished his lines rather earlier than he had done previously. Perhaps the fragment of papyrus that is now lost was already deteriorated at the time of writing.

### P. Kellis Copt. 121

**Inv #:** P92.20

**Location:** House 3, room 14, deposit 3.

**Preservation:** A fragment of what is almost certainly a letter written in Coptic on papyrus. This is another example of a very tiny script (cf. e.g. **105**, **118**). The right hand margin is probably preserved; but otherwise we can not know the dimensions of the letter or the length of the lines. The line lengths given are only illustrative. The reading of ⲉϣϣⲱ at l. 2 suggests that a further fragment of papyrus must have been lost when the digital photograph was taken in early 2009.

**Content:** Nothing can be determined about the content. The dialect is typical of these pieces, and the main interest of the piece is the reading preserved at l. 5.

**Address:** None preserved (the verso is blank).

**Names:** None preserved.

**Text:**

(x+)1 [ ..... ] . vac ⲁⲛⲁⲚ ⲘⲎⲎ ⲛⲙⲙⲉⲚ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ .  
 2 [ ..... ] . ⲉϣϣⲱ ⲙⲙⲁϥ ϣⲉ . . . ⲁ  
 3 [ ..... ] . ⲟϥⲱⲛⲣⲉⲑⲓ ⲛⲱⲁⲣ . . . ϣⲉ  
 4 [ ..... ] . . ⲙⲟϥⲛ . . ⲃ . . . . . ⲱⲁⲛ . ⲟϥⲉ . . ⲁⲓⲟϥ . . ⲛⲙ . .  
 5 [ ..... ] ⲱⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲁⲧⲏⲕⲓ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲧⲉⲣⲟⲛⲟϥⲉⲣⲓⲛⲓ . . . ϣ . . . . .  
 6 [ ..... ] . . . . . ⲉⲙⲛⲓ/ⲱⲁ ⲛⲟϥⲁ . . . . . [ ..... ]

As for me and you (masc. sg.), we have ... with him saying: ... their (?) son(s?). ... (5) ... pray (?) for you.  
 Do not make ... worthy (?) ...

**Commentary:**

5 ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲧⲉⲣⲟⲛⲟϥⲉⲣⲓⲛⲓ : This is the most interesting feature of an otherwise poorly preserved fragment. One must read a negative imperative with a previously unattested causative verb. The reading is mostly secure. From which root base this causative may actually be derived remains unclear for the time being. Apart from any of the known or unknown consonantal stems containing /hr/ or /rh/, one might perhaps think of simply

another variant form for  $\tau\rho\omicron$  *L4* ('cause', 'force', 'constrain'), for which the archive already presents the unusual variant  $\tau\lambda\rho\omicron$ - (at **115**, 14). In this case one would be tempted to read  $\pi\omicron\gamma\zeta\eta\iota\tau$  for what follows (cf. **115**, 14  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}$ - $\tau\lambda\rho\omicron$ - $\pi\epsilon\zeta\eta\iota\tau$ , probably not  $\tau\rho\omicron$ -); but  $\eta$  is not particularly likely. On the whole, it is more probable that  $\tau\rho\omicron$  is the causative of a base that in fact contained some fricative /h/, and that we have to wait for new attestation to see it more clearly.

#### LIST OF OTHER (NOT EDITED) COPTIC FRAGMENTS FROM HOUSE 3

This concludes the edition of Coptic documentary texts from House 3 at Ismant el-Kharab. However, the excavations there during the 1990-91 and 1991-92 archaeological seasons, directed by C.A. Hope, also recovered many other small fragments (mostly inscribed papyrus) with Coptic text. As far as can be known, almost all of these were from personal and business letters, similar to the many such documents edited in CDTI and II. Here follows a brief record of these fragments, which may be useful in any attempt to calculate the original number of discrete documents found at the site, and perhaps the proportions of Coptic material or different genres of texts within the total find. Apart from such purposes, the decision of the present editors is that the following fragments are too small for useful publication at this time.

In the following list, the inventory numbers refer to glass frames, some of which contain a good number of different pieces (on occasion both Greek and Coptic). Some description and occasional Coptic text is recorded, but these have not been systematically checked and their inclusion here is only to aid in any future attempt to identify the fragments in storage. It is probable that the list is not complete. There are a great many small scraps of papyrus, some of which may belong together and some of which continue to break apart. For the smallest and worst preserved pieces it is not always clear even whether they were written in Coptic. Consequently, it has proved impossible to record an absolute total.

- A/5/217 Small frg. Coptic.
- P4 At least two other Coptic frags. apart from those published as **62**. Read:  
πϵ]κπ̄̄̄λ.
- P12 Small frg. Coptic?
- P17DD Small frg. Coptic.
- P17Zi Three small frags. Coptic; at least two from the same text.
- P26 Small frg. Coptic.
- P35D Small frg. Coptic.
- P38 Small frg. of Coptic letter.
- P39 Very small frg. of Coptic letter.
- P43 Small frg. of Coptic letter.
- P44 Small frg. of Coptic letter, tiny script. 5 lines. Starts: ]ϥϣω ⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲓ.
- P47 Small frg. Coptic.
- P48 Small frg. Coptic.
- P50 Top left-hand corner. Start of Coptic letter with first 2 lines in Greek.
- P51B(a)iv Frg. with tr. text.
- P51C(b) Three poorly preserved frags. of a single (?) Coptic letter, with first 2 lines in Greek.
- P52B Poor frg. of Coptic letter.
- P52Cii Two frags. of Coptic letter. Also three frags. of another Coptic letter, written on both sides.
- P53 Small frg. of Coptic letter. ]πϵ]δωϣ?
- P54 Small frg. Coptic?
- P55 Small frg. Coptic?
- P56B(a) Three small frags. from Coptic letters.
- P56C(a)iv Small scrap: ]πⲁϥⲁ[ⲛ?
- P56C(a)v Thin vertical strip from 11 lines, Coptic.
- P56Ci In addition to the twenty-one frags. of the letter published as **105**, a small frg. from the top of a Coptic letter. Also here, a Coptic frg. with 5 line starts and 2 of tr. text.
- P56F Tiny frg. of Coptic letter and perhaps others.

- P56H Small frg. of Coptic letter.
- P57B Two small frgs. from Coptic letters.
- P59B Small frg. of Coptic letter.
- P59C Small frg. of Coptic letter. Read:  $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}} \text{ T}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{E}}; \text{A}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Θ}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}.$
- P61V Two small frgs. of Coptic.
- P77B Two small frgs. of Coptic.
- P78A Small frg. Coptic.
- P78G Small frg. of Coptic letter,  $\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}} \text{ X}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}$  on r. and Greek address on v.
- P81D Pieces from multiple documents. Three frgs. from one Coptic letter including  $\text{Λ}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{Ω}}\bar{\text{N}}; \text{I}\bar{\text{J}}\bar{\text{Ω}}\bar{\text{T}} \text{ Ω}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}$ . Four frgs. from various other letters inscribed on both sides, including names:  $\text{Θ}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Ω}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}; \text{X}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}[\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}; \text{Π}\bar{\text{Ω}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}$ . Perhaps more Coptic here also.
- P82B Frgs. of Coptic.
- P85D Two frgs. of Coptic letters? Read:  $\text{K}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$ . Not dissimilar to **22** and **23** (also from P85).
- P89B Small frg. Coptic.
- P92B Small frg. of Coptic letter.
- P93B Various small frgs. Coptic?
- P92.1 Four frgs. of Coptic letters all written in very tiny script. Three have been taken from P92.5 and one from P92.37. They are glassed here together with **118** in order to compare with it; but they probably derive from other documents. It is difficult to determine how many different texts are represented in total.
- P92.4(a) Two small frgs. of one letter, written in Coptic on both sides. The script is similar to **32**, **33**, and **84**; but probably not the same. Read the name  $\text{T}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}$ ; also  $\text{T}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}; \text{K}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}; \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}$ .
- P92.6 One frg. of a letter, very poor preservation and difficult to determine if written in Greek or Coptic. The address is the same as **74** ( $\text{Π}]ε\kappa\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma \Psi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma \acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ).
- P92.9 Small frg. Coptic.

- P92.13 One frg. of a Coptic letter, written in a crude hand (and spelling). Text from 20 lines. Read from near the start (lines x+3-8): ]ΩΗΡΕ Η̄  
[ΠΑΩΗΡ]Ε Π̄ΗΕΡΙ[Τ ΔΗΔ]ΡΕΔC 2̄Π [ΠΧΔ]ΙC ΧΕΡΕΙΗ 2ΔΘΗ Π2Ω[Β ΝΙΜ]  
†̄ΡΩΠΗΡΕ etc. Different hand on ν (not sure if Greek or Coptic). Also other frgs. of Coptic letters here.
- P92.15A One small edge frg. with Coptic script.
- P92.16 Three frgs. from different Coptic letters. One reads ΩΗΡ]Ε ΔΗΔ[ΡΕΔC; another Π̄ΟΥΧΕΙ[ΤΕ; another 2ΔΛΔ.
- P92.17(a) Very faded frgs., difficult to determine if Greek or Coptic.
- P92.18 Small frg. Coptic.
- P92.29 Two frgs. with Coptic text on both sides.
- P92.35Gi(a) Two small frgs. join, and perhaps Coptic, from top centre of a letter.
- P92.42 One small frg. Coptic in a plastic bag. Read: ΧΕ †̄ΝΗΥ ΔΒΔΔ.
- P92.46 Two small frgs. Coptic.
- P92.48 Small frg. Coptic.
- P92.50 One frg. Coptic. Read †̄ΩΛΗΛ.



## HOUSE 4

The archaeological excavations in House 4 took place during the 1992-93 field-season, and these texts were all found early in 1993. The excavation of the structure was never completed, as the site came to be considered unsafe and likely to collapse. The principal interest, as regards the study of Coptic documents from ancient Kellis, is that this material provides an important contrast to the much greater quantity of such recovered from House 3. Indeed, Houses 1, 2 and the 'North Building' are all contiguous with House 3 on the northern side of Area A at Ismant el-Kharab; and, whilst all the inscribed material from those structures can not properly be termed a single archive, it does (with minor exceptions) evidence a certain homogeneity in terms of Coptic dialect, styles of writing, socio-economic factors and so on. A great many of the texts published in CDT I and II belonged to the one extended family group and their associates from the second half of the fourth century.

In contrast, House 4 was in good part selected for excavation as it is architecturally somewhat different (it is on two levels for a start), and several hundred metres away to the south-west (more precisely WSW). Nevertheless, it was also a domestic structure inhabited during the fourth century. Although there was nothing like the same quantity of inscribed material recovered here as in House 3, there are a number of important Coptic texts edited and published here as **122-126**. Mention must also be made of the previously published Coptic literary text from House 4 (T. Kellis II Copt. 7), if only because it was a Manichaean psalm written in dialect *L4* (the same as the Medinet Madi Manichaean codices). This is especially interesting because it demonstrates that two of the characteristic features of the Coptic texts from House 3 and contiguous structures, Manichaean belief and use of this dialect family, were not somehow specific to one corner of the village or one small group of its inhabitants. However, the wooden board with the psalm was found near the surface of House 4, and may not have belonged to the inhabitants of the building.

As regards the Coptic documents edited here, none of them provides any evidence of Manichaean belief. In fact, the letter **124** and the invocation **126** are probably the first Coptic texts recovered by the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab that should be classified as clearly Christian and certainly not Manichaean. Of course, there are a number of pieces that could be either; and this is particularly true of many of the personal and business letters from House 3. It is also true of **122** and **123**. But here in House 4, with **124** and **126**, we find unambiguous evidence of Christian belief and practice.

As regards dialect the inscribed material in Coptic from House 4 may be less homogenous than that in House 3 (although the small numbers of texts make this dubious statistically). Whilst the Manichaean psalm, and the letter **122** (on which see further below), belong to the dialect family *L*; document **123** and the Christian letter **124** are typical examples of 'southern' (regional, modified) Sahidic. Whether there is any link between social-cultural group and dialect choice is impossible to state on this evidence; but there is reason to think that the Christian community promoted Sahidic whilst all Manichaean texts ever yet found in Egypt can be grouped in (the admittedly somewhat artificial) dialect family *L*.

Finally, there is the important but unresolved question of dating. None of the Coptic documents from House 4 provide any evidence by which we could attempt to date them, beyond the general parameters of the fourth century, and probably from the second half. This can be said due to the archaeological record, and on general principles regarding the spread and use of Coptic. But it is not specific. This is unfortunate, as one would like to know more about the spread of new religions (i.e. Christianity and Manichaeism) in the village, and the development of Coptic and its dialects. Also, **123** provides a very interesting reference to 'father Shoi from the monastery'; and one would certainly like to know more about the nature and development of monasticism in the Oasis.

## LETTERS

## P. Kellis Copt. 122

**Inv #:** P 93.44 + 93.40A

**Location:** House 4, room 1B, deposit 2.

**Preservation:** This is a complete letter written in Coptic on papyrus. It was found in 3 portions, where it had broken along the folds; but these can easily be joined and virtually all the text is preserved (apart from a little abrasion on the upper left-side of the recto). The restored document has dimensions of 134 x 107 mm. The papyrus has been reused, as clear ink-traces (and even the occasional letter) of an earlier text can easily be seen. The hand is strong, distinctive and professional.

Somewhat surprisingly, this professional writing ductus goes along with a certain looseness of dictional style (of which the lack of consistency in the use of grammatical persons is only one example) as well as a number of linguistic forms which are highly unusual. While the language of this piece can not be expected to be in agreement with any of the known *literary* dialects of Coptic, it is also seen to be only in partial agreement with what is known from the majority of the letters found in Houses 2 and 3 (the variety of southern Coptic that we preliminarily dubbed *L\**). The tendency to spell  $\lambda$  instead of  $\epsilon$  here goes much farther than anywhere else:  $\lambda$ - and  $\lambda\tau\lambda$ - for  $\epsilon$ - and  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ - (the circumstantial and relative converters),  $\lambda\tau\beta\lambda$ - for  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ -,  $\epsilon\tau\lambda\rho\lambda$ - and  $\lambda\tau\lambda\tau\bar{n}$ - for  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - and  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ - (converted Present),  $\mu\bar{n}\tau\lambda\tau\bar{n}$ - for  $\mu\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{n}$ -,  $\epsilon\omega\lambda\eta\tau\lambda$ - for  $\epsilon\omega\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ -,  $\chi\lambda$  for  $\chi\epsilon$ , etc. It is difficult to determine whether this is merely a matter of spelling and orthography; or whether actual phonological (and thus 'dialectal') peculiarities are behind this phenomenon, and if so, which. The brevity and uniqueness of this piece of writing will probably preclude any such determinations even for some time in the future, especially since there are only few distinct morphosyntactic features to be found here. One such feature is the use, exclusive as it seems, of the base  $\varrho//$  for the

Affirm. Perfect (ϩⲓ- l. 30 and an implicit ϩⲕ- l. 20), which links this piece with the more distinctly ‘local’ documents **44–48** (and / or with the very peculiar no. **50**). Another characteristic trait, clearly limited to the level of orthography but in stark contrast to the normal usage in the *L\** corpus as well as the local documents, is the spelling of ⲉⲓ for the front glide in postvocalic position (normally spelt ⲓ), which is quite consistent, as it seems, in ⲉⲓⲉⲓ and ⲟϥⲭⲉⲉⲓⲧⲉ (but ⲕⲟϥⲓ and ϣⲁⲓϥ), cf. also ⲁⲉⲓ- (for ⲉⲓ- / ⲁⲓ- Sec. Pres.), ⲟⲉⲓ (stative of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ). The morphology of this latter form (no matter whether ⲟⲉⲓ or ⲟⲓ) would also appear unusual for *L\**, where it is normally ⲟ.

**Content:** On the recto Pshai and Masi have written a rather formal letter of filial piety to their father (and mother). One might suppose that this is complete in itself; but on the verso we find a rather more interesting, plaintive and personal set of appeals to the parents. The brothers are friendless and eager for news and a visit. They send a number of small gifts. See further the commentary on the problematic lines at the bottom of the recto and the top of the verso, and the issue of how to connect the two sides of the letter.

**Address:** None. Both recto and verso are covered in text.

**Names:** Chares; Lammon; Masi; Pakous; Papnoute; Philammon; Pshai; Sarapa; Sarapi;

**Text:**

- 1      ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ̄ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲅ
- 2      ϩⲛ̄ ϣⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ ⲛⲓⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲒⲁⲡⲛⲏⲧⲟⲥ
- 3      ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲕ
- 4      ⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ϥⲑⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲕ ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓϥ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉⲓⲛ
- 5      ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲛ̄ ⲧ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲕⲙⲏⲧ
- 6      ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥϥ ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲟϥⲁⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̄ϩⲉ
- 7      ϩⲁⲛⲱⲗⲛⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ϩⲁ ⲡ̄ⲕⲟϥⲭⲉⲉⲓⲧⲉ
- 8      ⲭⲁϥⲛⲁⲣⲁⲓϥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟϥⲛⲁⲅ ⲛ̄ⲟϥ
- 9      ⲁⲕⲓⲱⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲙⲉϥ ⲧⲁⲭⲁⲓϥ ⲁⲧⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲡ
- 10     ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϥⲁⲃⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲑⲁⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲁ

11    ἦνα ἠῖ ἄτατῖψοῖ ἦρητϫ εῖτε  
 12    ῶἦ οὔαῶ εῖτε ῶἦ κἠε ἀῖψληῖ  
 13    ἦμετε ἀπετῖοὔχεεῖτε ἠῖ ἠα  
 14    σἠηῦ ἠαχῖαῦε κατὰ ποὔρεἠ κοῦῖ ἠαῶ  
 15    ἠαῖστα παἠεῖτ ἦσαν σαῖαπῖ ἠῖ τα  
 16    κοῦῖ ἠῦερε τετὰρα πἠοὔτε ἠαῖαῖ ἀραῖ  
 17            vac                    ἀῶε ἠῖ παἠεῖτ  
 tr18    ῦεῖ τῖρῶ    vac ἀἠῖ κοῦῖ σἠο ἠἠῶ  
 v19    ἠῖτατἠαῶῶ ῶῖρετϫ ἠῖβαῖβαῖαῖα ῖψἠε τοἠοῦ  
 20    ἀπαἠεῖτ ἦσαν παἠἠοὔτε ῖῖθαῦἠαῶἠ ῶἠῖκ  
 21    κῖτῖ ἄβαῖ ἠῖκῶεῖ ἠεἠ ἀτῖα πῖκοὔχεεῖτε οὔτε ῶῖ  
 22    ῶοῖ ἀἠ ῶα ῖἠαῖ ἠῖκοῦῖ ἄβαῖ ἠἠἠῖ ἠῖκῖεῖ  
 23    τῖρεῦε τοἠοῦ τῖεῖαῖῖ ἄβαῖ ῶἠτῖἠῖε ῶα τῖοεῖ ἠῖατ  
 24    ῖῖἠε ἦἠἠα εῖ ἠεἠ ἠῖτατῖἠἠῦ ῶεῖ ἠεἠ ἠῖῖ  
 25    τῖοὔχεεῖτε εῖψἠτα ἠῖβαῖαῖ οὔαῖῖετ ἀῖῖ οὔαῖῖ  
 26    ῖἠατῖἠαῖῖ ῖἠ οὔταοῖα ἀἠαἠοῖϫ τῖῖτϫ ἠἠῖ ταἠο  
 27    ἀἠαῖ ἠαῖῖ τῶεῖ ἠε ἠῖ οὔε ἠῖποὔῖἠε σαῖαῖα  
 28    ῶα ἠαῖκἠἠ ἀῖῶ τοὔῶἠἠ ἠε ῶῖ ῖκοῦῖ ἠῖερε  
 29    ἠἠῖ τοτϫ ἠῖπακοῦῖ ἀραῖπῖἠ ἠἠῖ τοἠοῦ ῶῖ  
 30    παῶἠῖ ἠἠῖρατῖῖῶ ῶα ῶῖῖἠεῖ ἀεῖῶ ἠαῖ  
 31    ῶα ἠῖ ῶεἠαταῶῖἠ ἠῶοῖἠ ἠῖῖρατῖῖἠ ἀῖῖ  
 32    ῶῖ ῖῶῖ ἠε το ταἠο ἠῖτοτϫ ἠῖλαἠἠῖἠ ἀσἠἠῶ ἠαῖ  
 33    ῖἠἠ οὔἠ ῖἠοῖἠε ῖῖατε τῖῖ ἦῶῖ ἠῖ οὔκαῖα  
 34    ῖῖἠ ῶα παπακοῦῖ ἠῖ ῶῖῖ οὔαῖῖετ ἀῖῖ ῖῖῖ  
 35    ἀῖῖ ῶῖ ῖῶῖ τοτϫ πακοῦῖ ῶα παῖῖῖῖῖῖ  
 36    ἀῶῖ

4 ΝΕΚ: N- ex corr. 24 ἠῖτατῖἠἠῦ sic! 27 ἠῖποὔ- sic, read ἠῖἠοὔ- 28 ἀῖῶ τοὔῶἠἠ, i.e. εῖῶ ἠῖτοὔῶἠἠ 33 i.e. οὔἠ ῖἠοῖἠε ἠῖῖατε ἠῖῖῖ 35 i.e. (ἠῖ)τοτϫ ἠῖπακοῦῖ; read παῖῖῖῖῖῖ <ῖῖ>?

(To) my father, my loved one, he of the name that is sweet in my mouth at all times; my beloved father Sarapa. I, Pshai, and Masi, your sons; we are writing to you in the Lord, - greetings.

(5) First of everything: We salute your good fatherhood, which is without equal. We have prayed to God for your well-being: That he will guard you (sing.) for us a long time - and my mother, my lady - as you (pl.) are (10) for us a wall of protection; (and) we are confident with you (fem. sg.) (?), wherever you (pl.) are, whether in the Oasis or in Egypt. We are praying only for your (pl.) well-being; and (that of) my brothers, my masters, each by name, young and old, (15) especially my loved brother Sarapi and my little daughter, the one whom God will guard. Stay with my beloved (brother?).

(tr) Receive all <the ...> (?). Bring 2 *choes* of oil.

(v) You (pl.) can not remain under the foreigner. I greet warmly (20) my loved brother Papnoute. I am amazed that, since you (sg.) moved away, you have not written to us about your health. And nor have you told us: "I will bring the little ones with me". You did not do (that). (Nevertheless?), we are overjoyed and looking out for you (pl.); for we know noone here. Even if you can not come, write to us of (25) your health. When those pack-animals (i.e. the caravan) answer me (and) carry something, I will send it. (Can you please) find a good pair of shoes and bring (them) for me, my mother.

(It is) I, Masi, who writes to you (fem.), together with one of your (?) sons, Sarapa, for he can not move. He sends your (?) fare to you (fem.). Receive this small basket (?) for you (pl.) from Pakous. I am yours from the bottom of (30) my heart. Do not say that I have been neglectful. I am asking: "Will they reach you at home?". Do not find fault. Receive this cloth bag for yourself, my mother, from Lammon. It is full of lentils. There are eight portions of fish in it and some fine white bread; for Pakous and Chares did not answer me to (say that they would?) carry something. (35) So, receive this cloth bag from Pakous; for that of Philammon is wanting (?).

### Commentary:

3 The name 'Masi' only occurs in this one letter amongst all the Kellis documents; but it is known from elsewhere. It is derived from the word for a young animal; cf. CD 186a. In contrast, various forms of the name Sarapa are found in a good number of Greek documents; but, again, nowhere else in the Coptic material.

5 We have here translated ⲱⲛⲉ 'greet' as 'salute', as you can not really greet an abstract quality.

10      $\lambda\eta\theta\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon \ \eta\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha$ : We have supposed that the construction of  $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$  ( $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) plus  $\eta\bar{\eta}$  ( $\eta\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon//$ ) ‘with’ must here mean that the writers feel themselves to be confident because of the parents’ care. This makes sense following the previous clause about the latter being ‘a wall of protection’. Still, the suffix to  $\eta\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon//$  must be fem. sg., applying therefore to the mother alone; and this is slightly odd. One might consider instead whether here is intended  $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha//$ , the normal preposition after this verb; although in that case the vowel ( $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha$  for  $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron$ ) is more unexpected than the spelling  $\eta\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha$  for  $\eta\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon$  (i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup> fem.). Another interpretation would be to suppose that the brothers feel confident about the parents’ protection, wherever they go, following their prayer to God to guard them. This would also make sense, but in this case  $\eta\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha$  must be interpreted differently. One could conjecture some error here in view of the following word  $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha$ .

17      $\lambda\zeta\epsilon \ \eta\bar{\eta} \ \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ : The meaning of this final line is problematic. It appears to be (as here translated) a brief additional sentence, perhaps an injunction to the little girl to stay with her uncle Sarapa, termed  $\pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$  in l. 15. Nevertheless, the use of  $\lambda\zeta\epsilon$  (from  $\omega\zeta\epsilon$  ‘stand’) strikes one as rather odd; and then there is the question of who is being addressed and why ‘the beloved’ is not named. On the latter question, there is evident some ink-traces below. One partial solution would be to suppose that some following text was written, perhaps a name; though if one compares the verso it is hard to imagine that papyrus has been lost at this point. Is it conceivable that the scribe wrote an extra line, not noticing that the surface for this document had finished? If so, is the strange beginning of the transverse text (l. 18) somehow related to this?

18      $\omega\epsilon\bar{\eta} \ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\epsilon}$ : The meaning of this, which seems to stand alone at the start of the marginal text, is obscure. One solution might be to connect it somehow to the ending of l. 17 (surely not the name of ‘the beloved?’); on which see the note above. However, as it stands, it looks like the verb  $\omega\omega\pi$  ‘receive’ or ‘accept’, with  $\tau\eta\rho//$  ‘all’. This is how it has been translated, though it is entirely unclear as to what it would refer (perhaps a feminine definite noun has been omitted by mistake?).

19     The start of the text on the verso appears very strange. However, it may be best to read this as a continuation of what was being said in l. 17: ‘Stay with my beloved N.N. - you can not remain with the foreigner’. If this is correct, then the injunction of l. 17 (‘stay’) has been made not just to the daughter, but to the family members (plural) to

whom the letter has been written. Of course, the way that the scribe keeps switching between persons, singular to plural and male to female, is confusing; and a real feature of the text. But at least this makes some sense and helps to connect the text on the verso to the recto, which can now be read as one continuous letter. Admittedly, it would mean that the margin text (l. 18) must have been added after the verso was completed. Finally, there is the problem, probably unanswerable, about what or who is actually meant by the βόρβαρος; here translated rather neutrally as ‘foreigner’. Obviously, the author is writing in Coptic rather than Greek; and one would therefore suppose that the term refers to a true outsider, such as the Libyan of **50**, 27-28 or perhaps a Nubian. Alternatively, although the date may be rather early for this, perhaps the term is being used summarily and without ethnic meaning? Already in Shenoute (only a few years later) it has currency with a very pejorative connotation for all kinds of misbehaving contemporaries.

ⲁⲓⲟⲩ: Perhaps a compound expression (not hitherto attested to our knowledge), made as a construct of ⲁⲓ(ⲉ) and ⲟⲩ; although such a compound may be of doubtful standing, since quasi-synonyms are not usually compounded (as are antonyms, reversatives, consecutives and the like), but rather pleonastically coupled in circumstantial constructions (as are sometimes ⲟⲩ and ⲙⲏⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ). It might be conceivable as a means of intensification, such as ‘stay forever’; or perhaps it is a kind of ‘hesitation duplicate’. At any rate, ⲁⲓ- can not be the participial prefix since this would need a pronominal determiner after ⲙⲏⲧⲁⲧⲏ-. Thus, we seem to have an instance of an ‘autonomous’ ⲙⲏⲧⲁ// followed by an infinitive. This is attested otherwise only with the pronominal ⲙⲏⲧⲉ- (plus ⲗⲁⲁⲓ ⲏ-) or a generic ⲙⲏⲧⲟⲩ- (*Pistis Sophia* 268: 19; 269: 17 etc.); in which case the meaning is always ‘can not’ or ‘it is impossible for ... to’.

24 The combination of ⲙⲏⲧⲁⲧⲏ-, if this is a variant spelling of ⲙⲏⲧⲉⲧⲏ- (as it seems), with the stative ⲏⲏⲩ, appears to be incompatible with anything we know about Coptic syntax. However, the use of the negative existential ⲙⲏ- in front of a definite Present preformative ⲧⲉⲧⲏ- (where ⲏⲏⲩ belongs) would be no less unusual.

25 On the nature of the pack-animals, cf. **20**, 54 note ad loc; but here one might better understand reference to the drivers themselves. We assume that the Conditional (ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲁ-) is used with the common function of a future temporal. Alternatively, the writer may have had real doubts about their ever answering, in which case: ‘If ...’.



26 'I will send it': It is not at all clear to what this refers.

ταογα: Our best suggestion is to understand τοογε, (pair of) shoes; cf. CD 443b. Alternatively, one might try τογα 'door-post'; but it seems less-likely for sense.

27 When Masi writes מנ̄ '(together) with' it is uncertain whether the sender or recipient is intended; but we think the latter. One should note that Pshai has already addressed the father Sarapa in l. 3 and a brother Sarapi in l. 15; and it is most economical to suppose that Masi now refers again to the second of these.

27-28 πογωηρε / τογρημη: In the context of most other documents from Kellis this would certainly be 'their', but the idiolect of 122 remains to be explored. For these two occurrences of a possessive article with -ογ the text makes easier reading if they are understood as referring to 2<sup>nd</sup> person fem., as they would be in Sahidic and the Middle-Egyptian dialects. Of course, there is also the problem of the inappropriate singular (surely one should read νογωηρε?).

28 †κογῑ νεερε: 'this small basket (?)'. We understand βιρ (CD 41b-42a); though one might consider βρηε 'young' and thus translate 'this young girl', or εβρα 'seed' and translate 'this small amount of seed'. The last is least likely, because it should be masculine. Gender would favour the second interpretation; but we prefer the first for sense, noting that Crum gives examples of the noun as fem.

29-30 This is a tentative free translation of a rather unusual and difficult sentence. Apparently, the dative ηητ̄ functions as an adverbial predicate, which resembles the structure of 'cheer formulas' in which a verbal element like εφεωπιε or εφναωπιε, preceding the dative, is most often omitted. Thus, αρα- is read as Second Present, and a good literal rendering of the sentence might be: 'The ground be to you very much in my heart'. Otherwise, an entirely different interpretation of πιτ̄ ηητ̄ might be that of a verbal form of † (the 'pre-dative' τη-); in which case αρα would be one of the Greek particles and πι- would have to stand for ηπι- Neg. Perf.: 'Have I not given you very much in my heart?'. However, we consider it very unlikely that the sentimental reinforcer adverb τονογ would ever be used with an actional predicate such as 'give'; even when it is somehow connected with the 'heart'.

31 Perhaps the 'they' refers to the messengers; or otherwise understand: 'Will you be reached at home?'. We have glossed the adverb  $\eta\epsilon\theta\gamma\eta$  as 'at home', but it could just be a phrasal reinforcer rather like the colloquial English: 'Will they catch you in?'.

32  $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ : presumably for  $\eta\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron$ , with the *augens* reinforcing personal reference.

33-34  $\kappa\lambda\theta\lambda\pi\omicron\eta$ : '(fine) white bread'; cf. LSJ 850b. Thus e.g. a  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{o}\zeta$  is a baker of fine bread.

36  $\lambda\gamma\lambda\epsilon$ : apparently an adverbial predicate, but unknown as such. Although it seems to contain a form of  $\gamma\lambda\epsilon$  'last', it can hardly be a nominal construction. In this context (replacement of one thing for another?), and because of its predicate function, it can not fail to remind one of the pandialectal verb  $\bar{\rho}\text{-}\gamma\lambda\epsilon$  'be wanting' (CD 636a), for which it may be an adverbial Present equivalent.

### P. Kellis Copt. 123

**Inv #:** P 93.85 + P93.89

**Location:** House 4, room 6, deposit 14.

**Preservation:** This is a mostly complete document, written in Coptic on a narrow strip of papyrus, and with dimensions of 270 x 65 mm. It is now broken into three pieces at the upper and lower horizontal folds; and there has been some loss of the basic fabric. It was rather coarsely written, with thick strokes and a large script. The dialect is a variety of southern regional Sahidic.

**Content:** This is essentially a loan receipt and an agreement to repay in kind (sometimes called a 'sale in advance'); although it is written in epistolary form. As such it makes a useful addition to the mass of personal letters that dominate the Coptic documents from Kellis. According to the terms of the loan agreement the *holokottinos* / *solidus* will be repaid not in cash but by its value in oil. Oil was typically 40 *sextarii* to the *solidus*, perhaps even cheaper in Dakhleh than the Nile valley. Since 20 *choes* are 120 *sextarii*, the amount to be repaid is very high, i.e. about triple the value of the loan.

The religious context for the document can not be known for certain, but is most likely to be Christian. The following letter (124) also features a Besas, and thus the two pieces could conceivably be associated. That text is certainly Christian.

**Address:**

verso

[κυρί]ωι μου .. X .....

..... ωρος

To my master ... X (From) ...

**Names:** Ioseph son of Besas; Louioros; Shoei;

**Text:**

1 τ[ωι ἀγα]πητῶι ἀ-

2 δε[λφῶ]ι Ἰωσηφ

3 Βησῶτος Λ[ου]ιωρος

4 ἐν κ(υρί)ω χαίρειν

5 †[P̄]ΣΟΜΟΛΟΓΙ

6 ΧΕ ΖΙΧΙ ΝΤΟ

7 [T̄R] ἡπιζολο

8 ΓΟΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΤΕ

9 ΧΡΙΑ ΛΥΩ Ε

10 ΠΕΔΗΠΩΔ ΧΕ

11 ΝΚΑΔΣ ΕΕΙ

12 ΝΑ† ΝΑΚ Ν

13 ΠΙΧΟΥΩΤ Ν

14 ΚΟ[Υ]Σ ΠΝΗΖ

15 ἡπκογς Ν

16 ΠΑΞΙΩΤ ΩΘΕΙ

17 ΠΘΔΗΕΤΑ

18 ΕΗΠΤΟΥ ΛΑΥΕ

- 19     ⲛⲀⲚⲦⲒⲐⲐⲐⲒⲁ  
 20     ⲠⲧⲀⲚⲐⲐ ⲛⲀⲕ ⲛ̄  
 21     ⲠⲉⲡⲒⲐⲐⲐⲐⲐ ⲉϤ  
 22     ⲱⲠⲭⲀ ⲐϤⲭⲀⲉⲓ  
 23     ⲉⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲭⲐⲉⲓϤ . ⲉ  
 24     ⲁⲒⲁⲡⲒⲐⲐⲐⲐⲐ ⲛ̄  
 25     ϤⲐⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ . \ . /Ⲛ  
 26     ⲐϤ ⲁϤⲱ ⲉⲧϤⲐⲉⲓ

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9 punctuation mark after ϭⲠⲓⲁ? 11 punctuation mark after ⲕⲁⲁϤ?

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To my loved brother Ioseph son of Besas. (From) Louioros; in the Lord, - greetings.

(5) I acknowledge that I have received from [you] this *holokottinos* for my need and (10) its worth, so that I will pay you these twenty *choes* of oil (15) per the *chous* (-measure) of my father Shoei of the monastery; for they are not disputed. (20) I am drawing up this letter for you as a deed of security.

Be well in the Lord my (?) beloved (25) brother, who is honoured (?) and ...

### Commentary:

Address: The traces are faint and any reading is very uncertain.

2-3     If we have understood the sequence of names correctly, the letter is written from a Ioseph son of Besas to a Louioros; the latter name rendering what would be in Coptic ‘Louihor’. Compare Ⲡⲱⲓⲱⲣ, which is common in the KAB.

10-11   ⲭⲉⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁϤ: an unusual variant for ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁϤ ‘in order that’.

13     The letter evidently accompanies the payment (‘.. these twenty’), which therefore is thought to be present in the situation of both sender and receiver.

17     ⲉⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁ: This is most obviously the word for ‘monastery’, i.e. ⲉⲁⲛⲉⲧⲉ (with fem. article). The word is also found at **12**, 6 (connected to a ‘father Pebok’). The modern village of Teneida, at the eastern entrance to the Dakhleh Oasis, may be supposed to derive its name from the same. The question arises as to whether these occurrences refer to a functioning monastery in the vicinity of Kellis, or to a village with the same

etymology. It is worth noting that in both instances (i.e. in **12** and **123**) the word is associated with a ‘father N.N.’; and we suppose that an actual monastery is meant. The term μοναστήριον is found in two Greek texts from Kellis: P. Kellis I Gr. 12, 18-19; and an unpublished piece from the Temple Area (P 96.31, 9).

18-19 ΕΜΗΤΟΥ ΛΑΓΕ ΝΑΝΤΙΛΟΓΙΑ: ‘.. for they are not disputed’. We understand the meaning to be that father Shoei’s measure is a commonly accepted standard, beyond dispute. However, alternatively, in Greek contracts of this period the term ἀντιλογία is commonly used to assert that the loan will be returned at a certain date ‘without protest’; compare e.g. P. Kellis I Gr. 45, 17, a loan of money from 386 C.E. and referring to the *chous*-measure of Hibis. In this case one might simply translate ‘.. without any dispute’.

24 Whilst the reading of ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ is certain, the text around it is most unclear. Most obviously, one would imagine that it was preceded by ΠΕ- ‘my’ (for ΠΑ-); but the reading is not very satisfactory.

25-26 ΕΤΤΑ . \ . /ΗΟΥ: This looks like the scribe intended to write ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΟΥ ‘honoured’. There appears to have been a correction. We do not understand the conclusion to l. 26.

### P. Kellis Copt. 124

**Inv #:** P 93.89 + P93.54 + P93.77 + P93.109

**Location:** House 4, room 6, deposit 14; room 4, deposits 1A and 6.

**Preservation:** Here are fragments of a letter, written in Coptic on papyrus, which has broken at the centre fold and is in the process of disintegration. Much of the lower half can be joined together, and portions of the upper half, to reconstruct (an original) document of approximately 270 x 85 mm. The script is rather square and not particularly fluent. There is one fragment glassed here (visible only on the photograph of the verso and placed separate to the others) which probably does not belong.

The dialect is a form of southern regional Sahidic (similarly see **123**). It is comparable to the language of NHC II, both with regard to its use of some local non-Sahidic vocalisations (especially in everyday expressions) and the occasional ‘hyper-Sahidicism’. As such, it contrasts strongly with the language of the great majority of Coptic documents recovered from Ismant el-Kharab, certainly those from House 3 and associated structures.

**Content:** The author was certainly a Christian; as evidenced by the rather florid style and biblical references typical of Coptic literature, as well as the postscript by Hor the ὑποδιάκονος (surely here as an ecclesiastical role) and the naming of the sender(s?) as priest(s) on the address. Unfortunately, there is no way to date the piece with any exactitude; but one may presume that it is contemporary with the many Manichaean-styled documents of House 3. This makes **124** an important addition to our understanding of the religious situation in Kellis during the second half of the IVth century C.E. An unpublished Greek document from House 4 (P 93.38) refers to an ἀρχιδιάκονος.

**Address:**

verso

ΤΑΔΕ ΠΕΝΔΓΑΠΗ[ΤΟΣ]                    X            ΖΙΤΗΝ ΑΠΑ ΒΗΣΑΣ . [ . . . ] ΜΗΝ  
 ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ Θ Θ [ . . . ]    ΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΣ ΠΡ/

Give it to our beloved Stephanos. ... X From Apa Besas ... and Agathemeros, presbyters.

**Names:** Agathemeros; Besas; Hor; Stephanos;

**Text:**

1            ΒΗΣΑΣ[Σ ΠΠ]ΡΕΣΒΥ[ΤΕΡΟΣ]  
 2            ΜΗ ΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΟ[Σ . . . ]  
 3            ΠΕΤΟΣΖΕΙ Π[ΕΦ]ΕΙΩΤ Σ . . . [ . . ]  
 4            ΖΗ ΠΧΟΞ[Ι]Σ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 5            ΖΑΘΗ ΜΖ[Ω]Β ΝΙΜ ΤΝΩΙ  
 6            ΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΤΝΩΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΤΗ

7      Ν̄Μ̄ΑΚ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ  
 8      ΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΕΤΝΗ̄ΜΟΝ  
 9      ΤΗΡΟΥ Ψ[ΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ Τ̄Ν̄]  
 10     ῚΛΥΠΗ ΕΤ[ΒΕ . . . . ΨΩ]  
 11     ΠΕ Τ̄Ν̄ΣΟΦ[ΥΝ . . . . . ]  
 12     ΑΓΑΘΟΣ . [ . . . . . ]  
 13     ΤΕΚΜ̄[Τ . . . . . Μ̄]  
 14     ΤΕΞΑΓ[ΑΠΗ . . . . . ]  
 15     [ . . . . . ]  
 16     [ . . . . . ]  
 17     [ . . . . . ]  
 18     [ . . . . . ]  
 19     [ . . . . . ]  
 20     . [ . ] . ΜΕ[ . ] . . ΨΑΡΟΝ  
 21     Τ̄Ν̄ΨΠΗΡΕ ΜΟΚ ΧΕ Μ  
 22     ΠΕΚΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΨΑ  
 23     ΠΟΟΥΕ Ν̄ΖΟΥ ΕΝΔΩ  
 24     ΨΤ̄ Ν̄ΘΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΖ ΕΨΑΙ  
 25     ΒΕ ΕΨΔΑΨΤΨ ΕΒΟΛ  
 26     Ν̄ΠΜ[Ο]Υ Ν̄ΨΟΥ ΑΥΩ  
 27     Ν̄ΘΕ ΝΟ[Υ]ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
 28     [Ε]Ψ[ . ] . . ΕΠ̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤ  
 29     ΔΩΨΤΨ \ΕΒΟΛ/ ΖΗΤΨ ΨΑΡΕ  
 30     ΟΥΨΩΣ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΨ  
 31     ΨΝ ΖΤΗΨ ΖΑΝΕΨ\Ε/ΣΟΥ  
 32     [ . . . ] ΔΕ Ω ΠΜΑΚΑ  
 33     [ΡΙΟ]Σ ΝΙΩΤ Ψ̄  
 34     [ΖΤΗ]Κ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΝΚΕ  
 35     Ν[ . ] . . [ . . . . . ] . ΝΕ  
 36     Κ[ . . . . . ] ΖΩΒ ΕΚΟΥ  
 37     ΩΨ . . ΨΖΕΙ . . . †ΝΑ  
 38     ΔΨ . [ . ] . [ . . . . Ο]ΥΧΕΙΤΕ

- tr39    ρΗ ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΕΝΟΥΤΕ [ . . . . . ] . ΟΥ . . .  
 v40    ΑΝΑΚ ρΩΡ ΠΡΥΠΟΛΙΑΚΟΝΟC  
 41    ΗΣΕΛΗ †ΩΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ vac . . . Ω .  
 42    ΩΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΓΑΠΗΤΟC

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Address read <M>ΠΕΝΑΓΑΠΗ[ΤΟC (?)] 3 the entire line has been squeezed in after the following had been written; read <M>Π[ΕC]ΕΙΩΤ (?) 21 read ΤἩ̅<̅̅>ΩΠΗΡΕ 24-25 ΕCΔΙΒΕ sic? read ΕCΔΒΕ 25 ΕCΔΑΥΤC sic? read ΕCΔΑΥΤ 29 ΔΩΥΤC sic? read ΔΩΥΤ 31 ΩΝ ex corr.

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Besas the presbyter, and Agathemeros [presbyter (?)], the one who writes to [his] father Stephanos; in the Lord, - greetings.

(5) Before everything: We greet you (and) we greet all they who are with you by their name. All who are with us [greet you. We are] (10) distressed about [what has] happened. We know your good[ness] and your ...-ness and your love ... (15) ... (20) ... to us. We are astonished at you (sing.), that you did not come to us until today. We do look (forward to your visit) just as parched earth (25) looks forward to rain, and like an angel who is [close to] God looks forward to him. (30) A good shepherd has pity for his sheep. So, [now], o blessed father, have pity towards us for another (35) ... Anything you want, write ... and I will [gladly] do it. Be well (tr) in the Lord, our God ...

(v40) (It is) I, Hor, the sub-deacon of Kellis (?). I greet you. ... greets you, the beloved one.

### Commentary:

Address: ϑ ϑ after the name of Stephanos might be understood as a date, i.e. ϑ[ω]ϑ followed by a number (now lost). However, there is scant room for any (lost) -ω-, and perhaps one should consider instead a Christian symbol.

We take the final ϩρ/ (the abbreviation mark appears struck through both letters) to indicate that the senders were priests; i.e. for πρ(εσβύτερος). This itself might well only refer to Agathemeros; but we note that there is also some (lost) text after the name of Besas, and that l. 1 in the letter can well be restored to read 'Besas the presbyter'. The latter is titled 'Apa' on the address.



There is an ink trace above and to the right of the final -N on the upper line, which may indicate that there was further text above.

2 There may be room for πρ/ at the end of the line (as on the address).

3 <N>π[εϛ]εωτ (?): or otherwise π[εN]-, π[εΥ]- or π[ΟΥ]-. We have supposed that both here and in the address π- has been omitted, noting that this scribe shows a certain lack of carefulness elsewhere (cf. <π̄>ωππρε in l. 21 or the redundant -ϛ in l. 25). However, it is true that the syllabic entity of this preposition can be totally assimilated to a following π-, as can be observed elsewhere especially in non-literary documents. A similar ‘economic’ spelling of the initial can be observed in ΜΟΚ (for πΜΟΚ) in l. 21, which may indicate that it is not in fact an error.

The name at the end of the line is presumably Stephanos. Whilst there appears to be scant space, the entire l. 3 has in fact been added into the document and squeezed between ll. 2 and 4. Probably one should read ϙτ̄εφλ[ΝΟϙ].

6-7 There is no need to emend the double-N in ΝΝπΜΑΚ, nor to assume dittography. The repeated occurrence in l. 8 suggests that the double spelling is a regular feature of the writer’s dialect. Although the same is exceptionally also found in Biblical Sahidic manuscripts (but mainly after ετ-, where it may be purely phonetic), our best witness for this as a grammatical phenomenon is NHC II. In that codex, all occurrences of ΝπΜΑ// are spelt with initial syllabic Ν when used as predicate in the Bipartite Pattern (and not only after ετ-), whereas outside this predicative usage it never has the additional syllable.

10 ετ̄[βε . . . . ωω]πε: A nominalised Perfect relative must be restored, but we do not know the form that the scribe would have used (πεταϛ-, πενταϛ-, or even with one of the participial prefixes ερ- and λ2-).

11 τ̄π̄-: The notation here above the -N- (and indeed elsewhere in this letter) is not really a superlinear stroke but rather a simple dot. Unfortunately, the font being used for the edition does not render the different signs very satisfactorily, so they have all been indicated in a uniform way. See further **127**, 2 ad loc.

22-23 ωλ ποοϙε π2οοϙ: expressed with the insisting formula (‘today’s day’), i.e. ‘this very day’.

24-26 The same image is found elsewhere in Coptic documents (perhaps cf. Job 29:23); e.g. W.E. Crum, *Varia Coptica*, Aberdeen, 1939 no. 54: ‘God knoweth, like a thirsty land that longeth for water, even so have I thirsted for thy holiness ..’.

29 ϩⲱⲱⲧⲥ: It is true that the final letter (-ϩ) is uncertain and (given that it is impossible) might better be transcribed as ϩⲱⲱⲧ{ . } (= unidentifiable trace). However, it is the most likely reading and the same oddity is certainly found in l. 25.

32 Perhaps [ⲦⲐⲦⲈ] ϩⲈ.

36-38 The text is badly destroyed, but enough remains to identify the familiar promise: ‘... anything you wish I will do it joyfully’ (vel sim.). Cf. **35**, 48; **36**, 37-39; **128**, 46-47. The shift to the sing. (‘I’) from pl. (‘we’) is surprising, and may indicate that this has been added in a rather formulaic manner.

39 ⲡⲈⲚⲐⲮⲦⲤ: for ⲡⲈⲚ-ⲚⲐⲮⲦⲤ.

41 ⲚⲤⲈⲘⲚ: The reading is very uncertain. Another possibility is simply ⲤⲈⲘⲚ.

42 This final line is very uncertain. If we have understood it correctly there should be another name at the end of l. 41.

## INVENTORY

### P. Kellis Copt. 125

**Inv #:** A/6/34

**SCA #:** 2326

**Location:** House 4, room 1B, deposit 2. Excavated 11/1/93.

**Preservation:** This is a wooden board inscribed in Coptic. It is probably complete, but the board may well have been cut down from previous usage (the lower edge is markedly coarser). The drill-hole, and possible ‘ordering’ mark on the right side of side A, suggest that the board was originally part of a primitive codex. But the fabric has deteriorated

and cracked, and this piece has finally been used for a rather basic list. The text is badly abraded in places. The dimensions are 127 x 71-81 (x 1.5-3 mm. thick).

**Content:** A list of commodities, with many 'ticked' (as e.g. in the KAB). There are no recognisable prices, dates or persons; but l. 4 may well refer to Trimithis.

**Text:**

(A1)1	/ ἄβαξ	(ii)18	/ ἄβος
2	/ . πρᾶ .	19	/ ἀλλὰ
3	ἄβ . . . τῶν	20	/ χιτ᾽ ἀμ . .
4	/ . . . ἡ . . . τριμῖθις	21	/ χιτ᾽ ἄβ . . .
5	/ ἄβ . . . . .	22	/ ἄβος
6	// ΝΙΚΟΥ ἄβος	23	/ . . . ἄβος
7	/ . . . τῆν	24	/ κῆτε ἄβος
8	traces	25	/ ὄβρα .
9	/ traces	26	/ βῆ ἄβος
10	. . . . . ἄβος	27	/ ἄβ . ἄβος .
11	. . . . ἄβ . . . ἄβ	28	ἀλλωμ᾽
12	traces	29	/ ἄβος .
13	/ τ . ἄβ . . . ἄβος	30	/ ἄβ . . .
14	/ ἄβος ἄβ . . . ἄβ	31	/ τκ . . . . . ἄβος
15	ἄβος	32	/ ἄβος ἄβος
16	π . . . ἄβ	33	τῶν . ἄβος ἄβος
17	traces	34	/ ἄβ . . . ἄβ
		35	ἄβος . .
		36	ἄβ . . . . .
		37	ἄβ . . . .
(B)38	// ἄβ . . . . . ἄβ		
39	ἄβος ἄβος		
40	ἄβος		
	vac		
41	τῶν ἄβος		

42 ΤΚΟΥΙ ΠΠΗΡΕ  
 43 ΝΙΖΟΡ`  
 44 ΤΣΙΡΑ  
 45 ΠΜΕΛΑ

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21 ϰ- ex corr. 26 β- ex corr.

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(Ai)1	The garments	(ii)18	Jujubes.
2	...	19	Grapes.
3	...	20	... olives.
4	... of Trimith(is)	21	Black (?) olives.
5	...	22	Dried (olives?).
6	These small items	23	Fresh (?) ...
7	...	24	Dried figs.
8	...	25	...
9	...	26	... dates (?).
10	...	27	...
11	...	28	Cheese.
12	...	29	...
13	Fresh (?) ...	30	...
14	These shoes (?) of ...	31	...
15	His sweet (ones)?	32	These large coppers (?).
16	...	33	... from him (?).
17	...	34	...
		35	...
		36	...
		37	...
(B)38	...		
39	These <i>akon</i> of oil.		
40	These silver (vessels?).		
	vac		
41	The sesame.		
42	The small quail.		
43	These keys (?).		

44 The butter.

45 ...

### Commentary:

1 It is difficult to know whether to read  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{c}$ ,  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{c}$ ,  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}$  (et al.); the traces are very faint. The first looks to be the easiest, but the latter two are preferable for dialect. In any case, the meaning is much the same in all instances, ‘linen’ or ‘garments’; cf. CD 659b-660a.

4 The raised final  $-\tau$  surely indicates an abbreviation for Trimith(is). Compare the KAB ll. 1215, 1407 (though with a  $-\theta$ ) and 50, 19. At the start of the line one could possibly read  $\pi\rho\eta\omega$  ‘mat’; but the letters would be rather spread out and it is not very convincing.

5 This looks at first like a long horizontal line and we wondered whether it was an erasure (or even a foreign script). But we think that this is something of an illusion, and that there is Coptic text here beginning  $\eta\iota$ - ‘these’ or  $\chi\iota$  ‘receive’.

7 Perhaps  $\omega\tau\eta\eta$  ‘garment’ or ‘tunic’.

13-15 The script is reasonably clear in this section, and it is frustrating not to be able to make more sense.  $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}$  is either ‘new’ (probably as an adjective) or for  $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{\lambda}$  ‘seed’.  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}$  looks like the word for ‘sweetness’ (CD 673b); but its meaning here escapes us, unless it be for ‘sweet wine’ (cf.  $\gamma\lambda\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , also in the KAB).

19  $\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{\lambda}$ : If the reading is correct, this must be for  $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{e}$  (cf. CD 54b). This would indicate that we are dealing with a rather extreme alpha-vocalisation, as found in a good number of the Kellis documents.

20-21 These must be different kinds of olives or olive products (cf. CD 790b-791a). It is very tempting to think of ‘black olives’ at l. 21, which could be  $\mathfrak{\chi}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{\tau}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{\lambda}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$  vel sim. (compare  $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}$  ‘black cumin’).

22 We suppose a partly misspelt abbreviation for  $(\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{c})\mathfrak{\omega}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{\omega}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}$  ‘dried’ or another form of  $\mathfrak{\omega}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{o}$  ‘dry’. See also l. 24. The word  $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{e}$  (ll. 13, 23?) may well be the opposite, i.e. ‘new’ or ‘fresh’.

24  $\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{\bar{n}}\mathfrak{\tau}\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{\omega}\mathfrak{\omega}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}(\mathfrak{e})$ : ‘dried figs’, cf. CD 40b  $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{\eta}\mathfrak{\omega}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$  ‘dried dates’; also  $\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  in the KAB.

32     ϨΑΜΤϯ: If the reading is correct, it is still unclear what is meant. The term may be used of money (copper coins); but here is more likely to be some kind of vessel. Compare l. 40.

39     ΛΚΟΝ: probably for ἀγγεῖον; see also **15**, 14; **17**, 10, 19; **22**, 12.

40     ΝΙϨΕΤ ‘these silvers’: Presumably for silver vessels rather than money; there is a similar issue at l. 32.

41     We believe that this must be for σησαμῆ. If this is correct, then it is a good illustration of the problems involved in reading this list.

42     The reading is clear enough, though ΠΗΡΕ ‘quail’ is supposed to be masc.

43     ΞΟΡϯ: This must be for ΞΟΥΡ ‘ring’ or ‘key’. The apparent superlinear, which we have rendered as (’), could be for the -Υ-; but it would be oddly placed.

44     Again, the reading is clear enough, but ΟΕΙΡΕ ‘butter’ (CD 353a) is also supposed to be masc.

45     ΜΕΛΑ: Obviously, there are all sorts of possibilities, including words formed with the Greek μέλας ‘black’ or ‘dark’. One should also consider μέλι ‘honey’; and Coptic words such as ΜΕΛϨ ‘salt’. However, there are too many variables (especially in what we do and do not know about the scribe’s spelling) to make a reasonable decision about what is most likely.

## INVOCATION

### P. Kellis Copt. 126

**Inv #:** P93.13A + P93.19

**Location:** House 4, room 1, deposit 1; room 1B, deposit 1.

**Preservation:** Here are found multiple small fragments of papyrus, which can be partly arranged to show the remains of two texts. The first to have been written is presumed to be the large and impressive official document in Latin, some of which is visible on what is here termed the ‘verso’. No attempt has been made to edit this text, which is only

partially preserved. On the ‘recto’ there are columns of a Coptic invocation. We have ordered the two sides in this way under the presumption that the original Latin document has been reused to write the Coptic text. On the ‘verso’ there are the remains of two further columns of the Coptic invocation.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to know the sequence in which the columns of Coptic should be read; and the placing of some fragments remains uncertain. Here they are edited beginning at the upper left of the ‘recto’; but noting that these terms should not be accorded any absolute value. In the translation each column is treated separately and numbered r(ecto)i, ii, etc. Line numbers are purely for reference purposes, as it is impossible to know the extent of the original Coptic text. Thus, ‘ri’ is a narrow column of text marked by repetition of the phrase: ‘Have mercy on me!’ (ⲛⲁⲗ ⲛⲏⲓ). Beside it is found ‘rii’, which (quoting from Psalm 145) is rather more expansive in both format and style. The relationship of ‘riii’ (calling on the name of the saviour) and ‘riv’ (where is found a repetitive design) to the previous two columns is unknown. In ‘vi’ the author calls upon the name of the Lord God (parallel to riii); whilst beside it there are minimal traces of column ‘vii’.

**Content:** This Coptic invocation is presumed to be Christian, calling upon the ‘name’ of the Lord God and of the saviour. The hand is fluent and practised. The dialect is southern regional Sahidic (remarkably involving a few local forms that are mainly known from *A* and *I* dialects, such as ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲥ- Affirm. Aorist, ⲙⲙⲟ ‘there’ and ⲓⲱⲟϥ ‘day’).

**Text:**

- (ri) 1 ] . . ⲉⲣ .  
 2 ⲛⲓⲛⲁ  
 3 ⲛ . ⲉⲛⲏⲁ  
 4 [ . . . ] . ⲛⲁⲗ  
 5 [ⲛⲏⲓ] ⲛⲁⲗ ⲛⲏⲓ  
 6 [ . . . ] ⲛⲁⲗ ⲛⲏⲓ  
 7 [ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲉⲗⲁⲛ

8 [Π]ΩΗΡΕ Ḳ̄

9 [ . . . ]ϫϚ̄[

and probably more

(rii)10 ϩΑΡΕϚΚΑΤϚ

11 Ν<Ϛ>ΣΟΥΩΝΓ ϩ[Π]Ϛ

12 ΚΑϚ/ ΕΦΩΟΥ

13 ΕΤΗΜΟ ΣΕΝΑΤΑ

14 ΚΟ ΝΔΙ ΝΟ<Υ>ΜΕΥΕ

15 [Τ]ΗΡΟΥ/ ΝΑἲΑΤϚ

16 Ḳ̄ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕϚ

and more

(riii)17 ΑΥΩ ΠΡΑἲ [ΝΠ]

18 ΣΩΤΗΡ ΤΑ

19 ΕΠΙΚΑΛΙ Ηἲ[ΔϚ]

20 ΝΗἲ ΠΧΟ[ΕΙϚ]

21 ΠΑΝΟΥΤΑ

22 ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ` Π[Ε]

23 ΔΝΑΚ` ΠΕ Π[ . . . ]

24 ΤΑ ΠΕΚΔΑΥ[ΔΝ Ν]

25 ΤΟΚ` ΠΧΟΕΙ[Σ . . ]

26 vac ΔΕΙ ἲ[ . . . ]

and more?

(riiv)27 ΠΕΤΑ . [

28 design

(vi)29 ΠΡΑἲ

30 ἲΠΧΟ

31 ΕΙϚ ΠΑ

32 ΝΟΥΤΕ

33 ΤΔΕΙ Ν[ΤΑ]



34 ΜΟΥΤΕ

35 [M]ΜΔϚ drawing

(vii)37 . Ϸ . Ϸ

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32 ΜΟΥΤΕ: -Ϸ ex -Δ corr.

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(ri) ... Have mercy (5) [on me]! Have mercy on me! ... Have mercy on me! Your servant, the son of ...

(rii)10 He shall return and know you on his earth. On that day all their thoughts (or: 'plans') will perish.

(15) Blessed is he whose [helper] ...

(riii) And the name [of the] saviour, let me invoke it (20) o Lord my God: "I am". I am ... your servant.

(25) You are (?) the Lord ...

(riv) The one who ...

(vi) The name (30) of the Lord my God, let me come and invoke it.

(vii) ...

### Commentary:

1 It is unclear whether there is here really text or some design element. Notably the ink begins to the left of the column edge apparent in ll. 2-3; and also does not continue across to the right. At the same time, it is difficult to understand how the text can properly start in l. 2, or what is the meaning of these initial lines.

4 It is not certain whether this is really a superlinear above the  $\bar{\eta}$ . Possibly one should read, preceding it and starting in l. 3,  $\eta\Delta|[\Delta \eta\eta]\bar{\eta}$ . Thus the call for mercy would be made four times.

8 Either the 'son' refers to the author (i.e. God's 'servant') or to the saviour.

9  $\chi\bar{\zeta}$ : It is very uncertain whether this is really an abbreviation for  $\chi(\omicron\epsilon\iota)\zeta$  'Lord'.

10-16 This part of the text ('rii') quotes Psalm 145:4f. LXX from the end of verse 4a to at least the beginning of verse 5. Compare the Sahidic of 4b ed. Budge: 2ḿ πἔροογ ἔτῆμαγ σἔνατακο ḿβι νεγμεεγε τηρογ. A division of *stichoi* is made visible by diagonal strokes in the manuscript (this device is not found in other parts of 126).

11 ΝCOYΩNΓ obviously intrudes between ωαρἔκκατϣ and what must be ἀπικκα2 'he shall return to his earth'; it has no place in the Psalms quotation. The easiest way to construct it, following the Affirm. Aorist, would be a conjunctive; but this necessitates assuming the omission of <ϣ> after Ν. This is what we have recorded. Less likely is an interpretation as Ν-inf. 'to know you', since infinitives after reflexive κωτε are constructed with ε- / α- and used only after a negated κατ//, not in the Affirmative. Either way, the original destination of return (ἀπικκα2 'to his earth') is irretrievably obfuscated by this intrusion and altered into a simple locative.

16 If this reading of ἔτἔρε- is correct, the presumed continuation of the quote must once again have deviated from the standard Psalms text, where the phrase 'whose helper is the God of Jacob' necessitates a Nominal Sentence in Coptic and would be converted by the simple ἔτεε-; not a Relative Present or Future.

17 The initial α- is stylised to indicate the start of a new section.

18,33 The verb form τα- is a 1<sup>st</sup> person Conjunctive without antecedent, which expresses a kind of auto-induced action of the speaker, self-encouragement or promise.

21-22 There could be space for further letters at the end of these two lines, but we have assumed not in our transcription and understanding of the text.

ΠΑΝΟΥΤΑ: The final -α is especially notable, and compare l. 32 where the same seems to have been corrected. In the following ll. 22-23 the scribe writes first ΑΝΟΚ, and then ΑΝΑΚ. These details give the impression that it is a struggle to achieve something close to standard Sahidic orthography, and that the scribe tends naturally to the characteristic alpha-vocalisation of many other Kellis documents.

We suppose that the first ΑΝΟΚ Πἔ, which after χἔ gives the impression of actually being the called-for name, may well be an allusion to the famous "I-am-who-I-am" name of Ex. 3:14.

23-26 This small fragment is slightly mis-aligned on the photograph. It should be shifted the width of one full letter to the left.

28 This looks like a closing design, but may be a succession of vowels (6 or 7 x € followed by the same of γ?) as is common in many 'magical' texts.

35 This looks like a drawing of a bird.

#### LIST OF OTHER (NOT EDITED) COPTIC FRAGMENTS FROM HOUSE 4

We can find no records of further Coptic fragments recovered from House 4 (1993 season), other than the one scrap glassed together with those published as **124**. However, there probably were some other small pieces. One would need to search all the frames in the P93 sequence.

## TEMPLE ENCLOSURE

The final texts published in this volume were all recovered in early 1996 or early 1997, during two seasons of excavation in the Temple area. It is not surprising that no Coptic texts have been found that can be associated with the Temple itself; but it appears that the pagan cult ceased about 335 C.E. (cf. P. Kellis I Gr. 13, 14 and comm. ad loc.) and some of the area was then used for domestic purposes, storage and indeed rubbish. It is with this final half-century of occupation and reuse that the following documents (other than **129**) should be associated. We may suppose, although there are no specific dating criteria, that they were all written in the second half of the IVth century, contemporary with the other documents published in CDTI and II. Apart than this, we have no real context for these pieces and each should be treated as a discrete find. **127**, **128** and **131** were recovered from D/8, a domestic unit built after the outer *temenos* of the Tutu Temple had been removed. **130** was found in D/2 (Shrine I).

The one exception to the above summary is the ostrakon **129**. This fascinating find provides the only clear evidence from Ismant el-Kharab for the development and use of Coptic prior to its maturity as a script, as evident from the many documents published here and dating to the later IVth century. The ostrakon has been the subject of especial interest, and may best be dated to the second half of the IIIrd century. It was recovered in the area of wells and storage chambers at the north-west corner of the inner *temenos* of the Tutu Temple.

## LETTERS

**P. Kellis Copt. 127**

**Inv #:** P 96.2(i) + P 96.4 + P 96.16 + P 96.24

**Location:** Temple area, room 1, deposits 2 west and south + 5; room 3, deposit 4; recovered 1996.

**Preservation:** Here are found many small fragments of papyrus that can be joined or arranged to reconstruct remains from the lower half of a document written in Coptic. This is presumed to be a letter from the second half of the fourth century. Twenty-one fragments are from P 96.2, four from P 96.4, and one from P 96.24. The unplaced edge fragment, which appears to come from the upper half of the same letter, is from P 96.16. The hand is rather square and awkward. The scribe uses a greater range of diacritical marks than are commonly found in the Coptic texts recovered from Ismant el-Kharab; see comm. ad l. 2. It may be that a new scribe began at l. 34, or at the very least the scribe utilised a new pen. N.B. A number of readings in the transcript are based on small fragments that seem to have disintegrated or been lost by the time the digital photograph was taken in 2009; see e.g. comm. ad l. 25.

**Content:** It is very difficult to make any sense of the overall content or purpose of the text. Nevertheless, there is some interesting terminology. The dialect is again Sahidic, as with a number of the pieces from House 4; and this encourages one to suppose a Christian context. Some passages might well imply religious instruction, perhaps from a superior.

**Address:** None preserved, although - if it existed - it may have been written on the (lost) upper half of the letter.

**Names:** -shampe (?);

**Text:**

- r(x +)1 [ . . . . . ] . 2H  
 2 [ . . . . . ] . T]ϵ2H  
 3 [ . . . . . ] . ϵ  
 4 [ . . . . . ] ϸ  
 5 [ . . . . . ] H  
 6 [ . . . . . ] ϵT
- r(x +)7 [ . . . . . ] .  
 8 [ . . . . . ] H ϵAK  
 9 ωωπε ηουσωχ[π] HTE  
 10 NEA HTE NEK̄ . [ . . . . . ]  
 11 EYNAΔ[ . . . ] . MAZE [ . . . . . ]  
 12 HHEK . [ . . . ] . 2IT . [ . . . . . ]  
 13 AYO H . . . THPOY . [ . . . . . ]  
 14 HPEOY H . . . TEY[ . . . . . ]  
 15 XEKAC H[ . . . ] YCΩ[ . . . . . ]  
 16 Θ[ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] EN[ . . . . . ]  
 17 EICAYO[ . . . . . ] TM[ . . . . . ]  
 18 HNONO[C] HTE NE[ . . . . . ]  
 19 K . . . EYΩPE EP[ . . . . . ]  
 20 PE APH TAGAPH H . [ . . . . . ]  
 21 AΠOCTOX[OC] NAN H[ . . . . . ]  
 22 NEIKOYEI [TH]POY AY[THN]  
 23 NAYC H[ . . . ] . . HMOH [ . . . ]  
 24 ITOMH HM[O]H MH T[ . . . . . ]  
 25 . . . ΔE O[Y]XAI[ . . . . . ]
- (v)26 [ . . . . . ] . Y  
 27 [ . . . . . ]  
 28 [ . . . . . ] .  
 29 [ . . . . . ] .

30 [ . . . ] . ΠΕ ΤΗΩΙΝΕ . [ . ]ΨΑΜΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΩΗΕ[Ι]  
 31 ἸΠΕΡΑΜΕΛΙ ΔΕ ΕΤΒ<Ε> ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΧΩ  
 32 ΩΜΕ ΕΤΝΝΑΥΩ [ . . . . . ] ἦΤΕ . . [ . ] . Τ . ΟΥ  
 33 ΑΥΩ [ . . . ] ἸΝΑΝ[ . . . . . ]ΥΑΧ[ . . . . . ]  
 34 . . . . . [ . . . ] . ΟΗ[ . . . . . ]ΨΑ  
 35 ΡΟΝ ΖΩΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΠ[Ι]ΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΩ ΖΙ ΤΕ  
 36 ΖΙΗ [ [ . ] ] ΧΕΚΑ[Σ] ΔΕ [ΕΥ]ΝΑΔΩΩΤ ΕΡΟΩ  
 37 ΖΙΝΑΣ ΧΕ ἸΝΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΠΟΩ ΕΡ ΑΑΥ Ἰ  
 38 ΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΑΩ

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35 ΕΝΤΑΥΠ[Ι]ΡΑΖΕ: initial Ε- ex corr. 37 ΧΕ: Χ- ex corr.

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... the road ... (5) ... since (?) you (masc. sg.) came to be a remainder from the generation (10) of your ..., as they will be ... your ... and all the ... of glory ... (15) so that ... the laws of ... (20) Be good enough to [send (?) the] *Apostolos* for us ... all these little ones. They have sent it ... us ... us ... (25) ... Be well (and live for a long time?).

(v) ... (30) ... We (?) greet -shampe (?) and his household. Now, do not neglect about (this particular) one of the books, to send it ... and ... to (35) us. Since he has (already) been attacked on the road, (let us make sure) now that he will be looked after, lest the commander do any evil to him.

### Commentary:

2 ΖΙἸ: The notation above the -Ἰ resembles a *djinkim* point, and close examination of the text throughout shows that the scribe uses a sophisticated system of diacritics quite unlike anything found in the majority of *L* texts recovered from Ismant el-Kharab. Compare again the final -Ἰ and the following Ἰ- at l. 24, or the ἸἸ- at l. 31. Unfortunately, the font being used here for the edition does not render the different signs very satisfactorily, so they have all been indicated with a uniform superlinear stroke (although clearly there are a number of very different functions that deserve careful study).

11 It is difficult to read e.g. ΑΤΙΜΑΖΕ (ἀτιμάζειν).

21 The *Apostolos* here is probably the Pauline letters, or used in the general sense (as opposed to the *Gospel*); but Mani can not be entirely excluded. The same work may very well be ‘the (particular) one of the books’ that the recipient is reminded to send in ll. 31-32. Thus we are inclined to restore the verb ‘send’ at the end of l. 20, though it could equally be ‘copy’ or similar.

23-24 Naturally, one thinks of a word like ἐπιτομή; but the sense of the text escapes us.

25 Ϡ[Υ]ΧΑῖ : This is found on earlier photographs (and in our notes), but the relevant fragment of text must have been lost by the time the digital photograph was taken in 2009. It strongly suggests the standard farewell formula at the close of the recto, before the author has continued with further messages on the verso.

30 Here one understands the familiar epistolary greetings to -shampe and his household; in which case one should probably restore ΤΗΨΙΝΕ Ε[Π]ΨΑΜΠΕ (Pshampe, lit. ‘son of heaven’?). Normally, one would expect ΠΕΩΗΕ[Ι] to be followed by ΤΗΡΩ, but there is no room.

35-36 ΤΕΩΗ: the ‘way’ or ‘road’. The reference at l. 2 may refer to the same episode, but has no surviving context. Concerning the translation of ΠΙΡΑΖΕ, although LSJ 1354b has only one reference for the meaning ‘attack’, περιάζειν was almost a technical term in Hellenistic military language as can be seen e.g. from the entry in the *Polybios-Lexicon*. This was obviously a serious matter and required renewed caution.

37 ΠΕΠΡΕΠΟΙ: ‘the πραιπόσιτος (Latin *praepositus*)’. On this military title see also the comments of K. A. Worp at P. Kellis I Gr. 27, 3; but here there is not sufficient detail to know his exact function or the territory under command, nor indeed why exactly he should be feared.



**P. Kellis Copt. 128**

**Inv #:** P 97.15 + P96.98 + P96.108

**Location:** Temple area, room 7, deposit 2; room 8, deposit 3 on 4; recovered 1996 and 1997.

**Preservation:** Here are many fragments from a substantial letter written in Coptic on papyrus. In 1996 there was found a strip from the upper left-hand edge of the document (P 96.108); this is all that remains of the upper quarter (ll. 1-11). There were also found a series of strips from the lowest quarter (P 96.98), evidencing parts of the final four lines (ll. 46-49) and a substantial body of blank papyrus below. Then in 1997 (P 97.15) many fragments from the central part of the letter (i.e. the second and third quarters) were recovered from the adjacent room 8, level 3 on 4. It is clear that these all belong to the same document as one can read across l. 46 by combining the lowest line of P 97.15 with the uppermost of P 96.8. However, it must be noted that this has only been done on the basis of the photographs. The join became apparent to us during editorial work, but we have subsequently been unable to find the glass frame containing P 96.98 and P 96.108. Therefore, the upper and lower quarter of the document do not appear in the digital photograph taken in 2009, and can only be viewed on the much earlier photograph reproduced in the plates. Indeed, the fragments from 1996 and 1997 have never been physically joined in a single frame.

The letter is written in virtually standard Sahidic with a distinctive square script. The language is also marked by a large number of Greek loan words. As with **124** and **127** there may be a greater range of diacritical marks than found in any of the documents from House 3, see comm. ad l. 26 and **127**, 2. Our supposition is that the author was a Christian of substantial education. Without any specific dating criteria (beyond the general archaeological context) we presume that the piece was written in the second half of the fourth century.

The papyrus is very brittle, and shows a marked deterioration since it was first recovered (it is now breaking into ever smaller fragments). The width of the document is 65 mm. The second and third ‘quarters’ are each 80 mm. in length; but the total may have been less than  $4 \times 80 = 320$  mm., if the uppermost and lowest ‘quarters’ were in fact rather shorter than the others (as appears from the extant remains). The original document has broken along both vertical and horizontal folds.

**Content:** It is difficult to gain a proper sense of the purpose and content of this letter. However, it is marked by an educated style and frequent pious phrases. The probable Christian context is in marked contrast to the great mass of letters from House 3.

**Address:**

verso

[ . . . . . ] X ωαῖ

[Tō ...] X (From) Shai.

**Names:** Ammon; Shai;

**Text:**

- 1 τ . [ . . . . . ]
- 2 .. [ . . . . . ]
- 3 vac [ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ]
- 4 ἸΤ[ . . . . . ]
- 5 ρἸ Ἰ[ . . . . . ]
- 6 ωε . [ . . . . . ]
- 7 τεπ[ . . . . . ]
- 8 πμϛ[ . . . . . ]
- 9 οναε[ . . . . . ]
- 10 ρογς . [ . . . . . ]
- 11 . [ . . . . . ]
- 12 .. [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] .. [ . ]
- 13 ηαλιϛτα εἰην . . . . [ . . ρ]φμηϛ

14 εφο ἡαζιοϋ ἡπε[ . . . ] . . . .  
 15 ενε ἡτακϋαἰ ε[ροἰ ἡ]ογεπἰ  
 16 στολ[η] νεειναρω[ωε . . . ] . . ρ . / . .  
 17 παλιον χε †ωεπ ϋμ[οτ ἡ]τἡ  
 18 ἡνο[γ]τε . [ . ε]γχορη[α . ] . φει  
 19 μετρωρ[ο]ϋ ϋἰ μακ . [ . ]ενταϋ  
 20 χαρ[ι]ζε ναἰ [ . ]εγχορηα ἡ  
 21 μπ . [ . ]ενα ε[ . . ] . ογ παἰ ετ† ογ  
 22 οει ϋ[ . ] . ογγενεα [η]ετρω[τ]π εἰεϋ  
 23 αρη[γ μ]ἡ νετρω[ι]ηε ἡσω[ϋ] ἡπεϋ  
 24 ϋητ [ . ] . ϋ . . ηϋποκρι[ϋ]ϋ χε  
 25 εβολ [ο]η ϋιτἡ τεειπροφασϋ  
 26 αϋτα[α]ϋ ναἰ επτρεναϋπαζε  
 27 ἡνεη[α]ρηϋ ϋἡ πετρηἡ μεη  
 28 ϋιτἡ [ . . . . ]γμη . παλα[ϋ]τἡμα  
 29 ετοϋ[τ]ων ἡἡ νεἰερη[γ] ἡπϋ  
 30 ωλη δεβολ ἡ . [ . . . . . ] . . [ . ]  
 31 ογϋ ἡ[ . ] . η ερωγη α . [ . . η]ε[ηε]  
 32 ρηϋ †[ . . ] . . ε δε εειμο[γ]τε ε]ροϋ  
 33 εφω[β εβολ] ϋιτη πἡακαριοϋ  
 34 ἡἰωτ [εωα]γταειοϋ πεπικο  
 35 ποϋ ἡ[τοϋ ἡ]ταϋαἰ ναϋ ετἡτρε  
 36 λαϋ . [ . . . ]λειη ϋεναταμο[ϋ]  
 37 δε επ[ . . . . ] . ε ϋἡ . [ . ] . . [ . ]τα  
 38 π . . [ . . . . . ]η αροκ [ . . ] †αἰ  
 39 δε ερ[οκ χε †ειη]ε ε[τεκ]ἡἡτ  
 40 μαἰϋον . . . . . ] . . ϋ . . [ . ] . ϋπο  
 41 κριϋ[ϋ . . . . . ] . . ϋ[ἡ] τεκἡἡτ  
 42 εϋε[ρ]ε[τ]ηϋ †ωἡε ενετἡη[ . . ]  
 43 μακ τηροϋ κατα νεϋραν †  
 44 ωἡε εροκ ανοκ αἡἡων  
 45 πεκ[ . ] . . . . ε . ε . . . . .

- 46 [Ϩ]ΩΒ [Ε]ΚΟΥΑΩ[Ϩ] ϢϨΑĪ ΝΑĪ †  
 47 ΝΑΑΑϨ ΕΕΙΡΑΩ[Ε ΟΥΧΑĪ Ϩ̄]̄  
 48 ΠΧΟΕΙϢ ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΝϢϢΝ ΕΤ  
 49 ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Ρ ΔΝΑϨ vac

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16 ΠΑΛΙΟΝ, i.e. ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ 29-30 the line break in Ν̄ΠϢ|ΩΛΠ is very unusual; ΔΕΒΟΛ, i.e. ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ 42 traces at end of the line may be an erasure; a possible reading is ΕΝΕΤΗΝ|ΝΑΚ (writing ΜΝΜΑΚ for ΝΜΜΑΚ)

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..., - [greetings].

... (5) ... (10) ... especially if there is no ... person who is worthy ... (15) If you had written [me] a letter, I would have been content ...

Something else: I give thanks to God [for the] possibility (that he can make?) these haughty ones suffer ... he has (20) gracefully accorded us [the] possibility of ... This one (i.e. God) who searches [through (?)] a generation (for?) they who are reconciled to one another, and they who seek after [him] in their heart (without any?) hypocrisy. For (25) also from this motive he has given us cause to cordially greet one another. On the one hand, in a hidden way, from ... they understand (?) the difference which is between us and our comrades; on the other hand in (30) openness ... one another. As for ... (fem.), when I spoke to her about the matter by way of the blessed [and] honoured father, the bishop (35) [himself] wrote to her to make sure that no one ... Thus she will be informed about the ... Nonetheless, I am writing to [you, in that I know your] (40) brotherly love ... (without) hypocrisy ... in your beneficence.

I greet all they who are with you according to their names. I greet you, I Ammon, (45) your ... Anything that you want: Write to me, I will gladly do it. [Farewell in] the Lord, the loved brother who (should) do what he pleases.

### Commentary:

18, 20 ἐχχώρῖα: the term is fairly ambiguous (and rarely used in Coptic). We suppose 'possibility' or perhaps 'permission'; but some talk of 'custom' or 'tradition' can not be excluded in this lacunous context.

19 μετέωρος; cf. LSJ 1120b, 2Kings 22:28 and Isaiah 2:12 LXX.

26    ⲛⲁⲛ: ink above final -ⲛ could be accidental as this notation is not generally apparent in the document, unless the same in l. 20? Compare **127** and note the comments there at l. 2.

27, 31 Since the scribe certainly writes ⲁⲣⲏⲅ in l. 23, and probably ⲉⲣⲏⲅ in l. 29, it can not be determined which spelling he used in these lacunas. A similar ambivalence is apparent elsewhere, perhaps ⲁⲣⲟⲕ in l. 38 and ⲉⲣⲓⲟⲕ in l. 39.

32    ⲉ[ . . ] . . ⲉ: Perhaps a woman's name (possibly read ⲉ[ . . ] . ⲣⲉ?).

43ff This may be a postscript written by Ammon (starting †|ⲱⲏⲉ from the very end of l. 43), as the author of the letter itself, according to the address, is Shai.

46-47 'Anything you wish ... I will do it rejoicing': cf. **35**, 48; **36**, 37-39; **124**, 36-38.

## VARIA

### P. Kellis Copt. 129

**Inv #:** D/1/234 (drawing sheet no. 97/79a)

**SCA #:** 2547

**Location:** Temple area, zone 20, deposit 12 surface (recovered 22 / 01 / 1997).

**Preservation:** Here is found an ostrakon inscribed with an early form of Coptic script on the concave side. The text is probably to be dated to the second half of the third century C.E. (based on the decoration on the exterior, the jar type, and the archaeological context); and the piece was then used as a chinking sherd during the construction of the vault of a storage chamber. The dimensions are 148 x 80 mm., with the lower 25 mm. blank. There is a break at the top which could indicate that the start of the text has been lost; but this is uncertain as the first line as preserved would make a coherent start to the message. Some letters are rather faint and can not be read with certainty.

**Content:** This piece was first published by I. Gardner, ‘An Old Coptic Ostrakon from Ismant el-Kharab?’, *ZPE*, 125, 1999: 195 - 200. It has attracted substantial interest, and in particular R. S. Bagnall challenged the designation ‘Old Coptic’ in his ‘Linguistic Change and Religious Change: Thinking about the Temples of the Fayoum in the Roman Period’, *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*, ed. G. Gabra, Cairo / New York, 2005: 11-19. The importance of the piece lies in the fact that the text evidences a writing system that differs from that which came to prevail in standard forms of Coptic. In particular, the letters derived from Demotic are closer to their earlier shapes than in later orthography. Further, there is evidence of differences in the lexicon compared to the mass of fourth century Coptic texts recovered from Ismant el-Kharab (noting especially the word ⲥⲣⲱⲧ ‘child’ at ll. 3 and 5, see CD 631ab). Given the probable later third century date, and thus approximately seventy-plus years prior to the great majority of Coptic documents from the site, the piece clearly is important for an understanding of the development of Coptic as a writing system. For further discussion see the papers by Gardner and Bagnall. Note that the non-Greek characters are represented by their corresponding equivalents in a standard Coptic typeface (the photograph and the *ed. princ.* by Gardner should be consulted).

**Names:** Hout; Imouthes; Moni; Ps-;

**Text:**

- 1      ⲧⲓⲱⲒⲛⲁ ⲁⲓⲉ
- 2      . . ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓ̄
- 3      ⲥⲣⲱⲧ
- 4      ⲙⲛ̄ ⲓⲟⲩⲧ
- 5      ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓ̄ⲥⲣⲱⲧ
- 6      ⲧⲓⲱⲒⲛⲁ ⲁ
- 7      ⲙⲒⲛⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓ̄
- 8      ⲉⲃⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ
- 9      ⲓⲙⲟⲩⲑⲏⲥ
- 10     ⲧⲥⲥⲁⲉⲓ
- 11     ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲁ

12    ⲭⲓⲧⲏⲡ . . .

---

8    ⲄⲖⲁⲏⲈ: Ⲅ- ex corr? 11    ⲏⲈⲧⲏ: -ⲧ- ex corr.

---

I greet Pse- and his children, and Hout (5) and his children. I greet Moni and his servants (?). (I greet) Imouthes (10). I am writing to you because ...

### Commentary:

1       ⲧⲓⲱⲏⲁ: The writing system appears to lack any single character for the sequence tau + iota. Of course, whilst this feature has sometimes been seen as a mark of early Coptic, many texts even several centuries later and especially from the south do not use -ⲧⲓ-. For some tentative comments on ‘dialect’ see Gardner 1999: 198f.

3, 5    ⲉⲣⲱⲧ: This term for ‘child’ is never used in *L* or Sahidic, where one always finds ⲱⲏⲣⲈ (or ⲁⲓⲁⲟϮ). Note also that, whilst *L* and Sahidic resolve various Egyptian consonants as -ϩ-, this writing system utilises at least two distinct letters (as does Bohairic and some other dialects). See further Gardner 1999: 198.

7       Moni: One might prefer to read <A>moni; or it is even possible that there is an additional (very faint) ⲁ- at the end of l. 6.

8       ⲄⲖⲁⲏⲈ: The initial and somewhat unclear character has been resolved as Ⲅ-, in order to render some sense to the text by reading here a form of ⲄⲁϮⲏⲏⲈ ‘servant’ (pl.), see CD 835b. However, one should note that the letter may have been corrected and that its intended shape is uncertain. One might also consider ⲕ- (but still rendering the same meaning).

10    ⲧⲈⲖⲁⲈⲓ: In the *ed. princ.* this was resolved as ⲧⲏⲥⲖⲁⲈⲓ ‘we’; but after discussion the editors have agreed that the emendation is not sufficiently justified to be included here.

11-12 ⲭⲁ|ⲭⲓⲧⲏⲡ . . . : We can not resolve this sequence, but presumably it is here that the author sends some kind of message (i.e. the purpose of the piece, which otherwise is only greetings). Various possibilities may be considered. In the *ed. princ.* it was supposed that ⲭⲁ stood for ⲭⲈ; but (for instance) could there be a further faint letter such

as  $\tau$  at the end of l. 11, to read  $\kappa(\epsilon)\text{-} + \lambda\iota\text{-}$ ? Or else might one understand  $\kappa(\epsilon)\text{-} + \lambda\kappa\eta\text{-}$  (prep.)? These possibilities could yield meaning such as: 'I am writing to you because I have done ...'; or 'I am writing to you because (I have been?) without our / your ...'.

The latter part of l. 12 ( $\eta\text{...}$ ) looks rather like  $\eta\epsilon\text{...}$ , with the final letter as  $\text{-}\eta$  or  $\text{-}\epsilon$ . We can make no sense of these readings.

### P. Kellis Copt. 130

**Inv #:** D/2/4

**SCA #:** 2446

**Location:** Temple area, Shrine I (the *mammisi*), room 1, deposit 6.

**Preservation:** Here is found an ostrakon inscribed with Coptic text on the concave side. It was recovered in a single piece, but has now broken into three fragments during storage. The script is rather coarse and some parts are very faint. It is not certain whether the text is complete.

**Content:** The interpretation is problematic, but it may be an agreement to pay for the use of land. The date of the text is unknown, but presumed to be fourth century. N.b. *solidi* are not found in the papyri until the reign of Constantine.

#### Text:

- 1       $\text{ϩ}\lambda\text{ } \eta\text{OY}\lambda\text{I}\epsilon\text{ } \rho$
- 2       $\text{E}\epsilon\text{T}\lambda\text{T}\text{OY } \text{†}\chi\omega\text{P}\lambda$
- 3       $\text{E}\eta\text{E}\text{I } \lambda\text{OY}\rho\lambda\text{ } \epsilon\eta$
- 4       $\omega\text{P}\text{I}\text{I}^{\circ} \lambda\epsilon$
- 5       $\lambda\text{T}\gamma\text{P}\eta\text{T } \& \dots \gamma.$
- 6      ..



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3 ΟΥΖΔ: understand ΟΥΔΖΔ

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The cultivators have made an agreement for this place (?). When he comes to the Oasis he will demand from him 35 *nomismatia* (5) for ...

**Commentary:**

1-2 The interpretation of the first two lines is very uncertain. We have presumed that (€)ρ at the end of l. 1 is for  $\bar{\rho}$  plus a Greek verb. In this case the initial ρΔ- would be the Affirmative Perfect base, and ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ could represent a form of ἴστημι. Alternatively, the verb may be a form of (Γ)ΕΤΟ ‘pay back’. Whilst this might make grammatical sense, the use of χώρα strikes one as oddly vague for some kind of agreement of this sort. One would also expect the subject of l. 3, the owner, to be named somewhere.

5-6 We can make no sense of these lines.

**P. Kellis Copt. 131**

**Inv #:** D/8/111

**Location:** Temple area, room 8, deposit 3; recovered 22 / 01 / 1997.

**Preservation:** This is a fragment of a wooden board inscribed with Coptic text. The hand is fluent and practised. On side A is found the starts of eighteen lines, the third of which seems to be indented. The left hand margin is 9 mm. On side B only the upper portion is inscribed; there are traces from probably five lines. The dimensions of the extant portion are 135 x 34 x 3 mm. The straight cut at the bottom suggests that this may be the lower part of the original board. Whilst it is impossible to know the dimensions of that, one can compare e.g. T. Kellis Copt 2 (approx. 195 x 70 mm.) or the KAB (335 x 107 mm.). Thus the width of the lines may have been in the region of 2-3 times what



23

[.....]...

**Commentary:**

3 The start appears to be indented, and one imagines that the initial letter was writ large. It could be a †-; but unfortunately what follows is most uncertain. It is not clear whether one should read . . †` ΤΞΟΥΞ . , or perhaps . . †ϚΤΞΟΥΞ . ?

6 Probably a causative precedes the verb †.

LIST OF OTHER (NOT EDITED) COPTIC FRAGMENTS FROM THE TEMPLE  
ENCLOSURE

Here are listed those other pieces of inscribed material in Coptic that were recovered from the Temple Enclosure by the archaeological excavations of 1996 and 1997. All are on papyrus except D/8/75. Their preservation is poor and they have not been edited. Nevertheless, they are recorded here in order to complete the publication of the Coptic texts from Ismant el-Kharab (i.e. in the four volumes KLT I and II, CDT I and II). There may have been other small frgs.; but this exhausts our records.

- D/8/75        Vertical strip from the middle of a wooden board. Coated and inscribed on both sides. Side A: perhaps letters or traces from 10 lines? Side B: perhaps letters or traces from 13 lines? The genre of the text is unknown. Read on B: ρϣωχ̄.
- P96.10        Remnants from the middle of perhaps 9 lines of Coptic. No margins. Curious punctuation signs (or decoration?) seem to divide some clauses. The text could be literary, but uncertain. At l. 4 read: ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲈⲚⲦⲁⲒⲁϢ . [.
- P96.20        Three Coptic frgs.; two with margins.
- P96.29        One Coptic frg.?
- P96.48        One edge frg. from a Coptic letter with margin. Read: ⲙⲚ̄ⲕⲣ̄ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉ.
- P96.109        Two poorly preserved Coptic frgs.
- P96.114        One frg. inscribed on both sides in Coptic.
- P96.116        One Coptic frg.
- P96.146        The start of a letter written in Coptic. Read (ll. 1-3): ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓϢ [ . . . . . ]  
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲦ ⲉⲦ[ⲦⲁⲓⲁⲓⲦ ⲛ̄]|ⲦⲐⲦ ⲦⲐⲚ[ⲐⲮ . . . . . ].
- P97.16        Three or four frgs. of Coptic; very poor preservation.
- P97.53        Corner from a personal letter written in Coptic. Read on v: ⲦⲓⲙⲐⲐⲉⲦⲉⲐⲐ.

## INDICES

### Native words\*

- α-**, **αρα** prep. **α-** 57.14; 58.14,22,30,32,33,36,37; 60.3; 62.7; 64.18,20,26; 65.8,28,29,37,39,41,43,44,45,47; 66.11,22,31,35,39,42,43; 67.2,4,6,16,33,34,40; 68.8,10,13,29,37,47; 69.3; 70.11,12,41,43,45; 71.2,5,12,27,28,31,31; 72.4,6,7,19,23,24,24,25,30,32,35; 73.5,17,20,24,24; 75.2,4,33,41; 76.2,39,47; 77.5,6,10,35; 78.6,12; 79.9,27,39,45; 80.7,11,21,22,28,29,33,38,38; 81.13,17,26,27,35,37,49,49,50,51,54; 82.7,11,18,25,26,29,30,36,41; 84.10,26,34; 85.8; 86.4,21; 88.6,9; 89.2,11,18,26; 90.7,29,34,37,39,43; 91.1,6; 92.29; 93.5,10,19; 94.37,43,45; 95.6,10,17; 96.26,27,35; 98.26,27; 99.19,22; 102.19; 103.5,18,19,37,38; 105.37,44,68,77,82; 106.20,21,33,34,37; 107.5; 108.7,27,30,33; 110.17,50; 111.15,32,33,35,36,39,40; 112.6,19,21; 114.1; 115.10,16,24,26,37; 116.2,7,9,11,12,13,13; 117.2; 118.7; 119.52; 120.14,23,23,28; 122.5,13,20; 126.11; 129.1,6,8; 130.3 **ε-** 72.8  
see also adverbs *s.v.* **ΒΑΛ**, **ΜΑ**, **ΜΕΥ**, **ΠΑΖΟΥ**, **ΡΗC**, **ΡΕΤ**, **CΑΠ**, **ΖΑΕ**, **ΖΟΥΝ**, **ΖΡΗ**; compound prepositions **ΑΡΝ-**, **ΑΤΝ-**, **ΑΧΝ-**
- αρα**: **αραι** 58.27; 66.29; 69.3; 70.40; 82.12; 83.13; 92.9; 93.12; 94.12,21; 99.23,54; 105.15; 109.8; 114.2 **αρακ** 57.4; 62.10; 64.30; 66.4; 68.7; 70.4,36; 72.36; 73.2,21; 74.1; 76.44; 77.3; 78.5,7,11; 79.10; 80.5,6,32,33; 81.4,5; 82.5,6; 84.3; 86.3; 94.3,6,9; 99.8,20; 102.9; 103.2; 105.37; 106.5; 107.10,30; 108.31,36; 111.3,19; 112.4,6,10,17; 115.44; 118.3; 120.1,11; 122.8 **αρο** 66.30; 75.39; 76.34; 83.2; 92.3,4,19,20,33,36; 93.3; 95.2; 109.17 **αραφ** 58.31,34; 66.39; 71.11,14; 79.39; 80.39; 81.20,39; 92.25; 103.49; 105.50; 107.28; 108.22; 110.29; 111.14; 120.27,30 **αρασ** 72.20; 122.16 **αραν** 116.7,8 **αρωτη** 58.23; 61.11; 65.5; 67.5,50; 70.7; 71.3,24,25,26; 72.3,9,10,15,16,17,31; 75.36; 76.6,8; 78.49; 79.7; 82.32; 83.6; 88.25; 89.22,44; 90.4; 91.1; 92.7,27; 93.21; 95.2; 97.14; 102.1,2; 105.7,10,78; 115.34; 116.11,16,17; 119.62 **αρωτηε** 66.37; 77.35 **αραυ** 64.8; 65.35; 71.18; 75.26; 81.53; 92.37; 105.78; 107.13
- ρα**: **ραι** 110.27 **ρωτηε** 66.34 **ραυ** 70.43  
(Sah.) **ε-** 123.8,9,21; 124.6,28; 126.12; 128.22,26,33,37,39,42  
**ερο**: **εροι** 128.15 **εροκ** 124.6,41,42; 128.39,44 **αροκ** 128.38  
**εροφ** 127.36 **ερος** 128.32
- α-** preceding infinitive 58.22,23,26; 64.28; 65.35; 67.48; 70.41,43; 71.15,20,30; 72.18,21; 73.16; 76.52; 77.15,27; 78.46; 80.10,12; 81.8,34; 84.6;

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\* The alphabetical order of entries is that of Westendorf 1965/1977. The grammatical gender of nouns is indicated only when attested in the corpus. The occasional indicator “(Sah.)” refers to the group of (quasi-)Sahidic texts, not necessarily to the particular forms.

90.12,25,26; 91.3,4,4; 92.11; 94.33,33,55; 99.19; 103.4,11,12,23,45,45;  
105.17,24,26; 106.25; 107.29; 111.10,12; 113.10; 114.1; 115.4,15,26;  
120.23; 122.25,34 ε- 107.9,26; 127.32

with caus inf.: α- 58.22; 59.8; 76.52; 79.9; 81.16; 84.18; 86.16; 94.38; 99.24;  
106.22; 107.21; 110.24; 114.6 ε- 128.35

α- *about* (with quantifiers) 65.26 ε- 102.11

(αἰο) *verily, come* αει 126.26 αἰ 71.36

(αἰεϥ) *be great* :

stat. αἰ 63.2; 65.1; 73.1,23; 85.1,6; [88.1]; 89.3; 90.1; 93.1

(ακε) *sesame* ακα 65.27

αμοϥ imp. *come* 72.28; 81.13,34; 94.56; 105.56

f. αμη 71.29; 95.10; 116.6

αμαρτε *seize, restrain* 79.16; 83.10; 105.14

αν *again, also* 58.14,20,24,26; 64.10,14,18,31; 67.60; 68.32; 72.20; 75.32,43;  
76.28,29,30,37; 79.12; 80.14,16,16,39; 81.45,48; 84.12,33; 89.32; 92.17,26;  
93.9; 94.24,33,49,52,53,56,58,58,59; 95.8,9,13; 99.40,50; 102.24; 104.3;  
110.11; 111.12; 112.14; 115.23,30; 116.2; 118.7; 120.20,35; 122.22

(Sah.): ον 128.17,25

(ανει) *be pleasant, good* :

stat. ενιτ 86.5

ανακ etc. (augens, independent pronoun) ανακ 57.2; 65.39; 66.21; 71.1; 75.1;  
76.44; 78.48; 80.4,38; 81.37; 82.41; 83.2; 86.2; 92.2,35; 93.22; 99.45;  
105.43; 109.2; 110.13; 111.2; 112.4; 115.26; 122.3 ντακ 64.25; 65.51;  
67.28,29; 72.21; 78.47; 79.30,42; 81.38; 84.20; 103.6,30; 105.62; 110.5;  
111.29; 115.20; 116.16 ντο 64.28; 71.29; 92.22,25 το 122.32  
νταϥ 79.45 αναν 119.29 νωτην 58.24; 61.12,27; 75.25

(Sah.): ανοκ 128.44 ανακ 124.40 ντοκ 126.24 ντοϥ 128.35

functioning as predicate: ανακ 60.1; 64.19; 65.4; 66.3,42; 67.1; 69.1; 70.3;  
71.26,27; 73.2; 76.1,9; 79.6; 81.2; 82.4; 89.7; 90.4; 93.3; 99.5; 103.32;  
105.5; 107.12; 108.3; 111.15; 115.6; 121.1; 122.27 νταϥ 63.31; 72.8  
νταϥ 115.28 νωτην 64.15; 80.11 νωτηνε 90.35

(Sah.): ανοκ 126.22 ανακ 126.23

αναϥ *oath* :

ρ-αναϥ *pledge* 107.24

ανηζε *eternity* :

adv. ϥα-ανηζε *for ever* 73.23

adv. ανηζε *ever* (adneg.) 58.34; 61.16; 85.5; 90.10,38; 94.21; 105.48

αρικε *blame* 86.20

βν-αρικε *find fault, blame* 70.40; 82.12; 86.20; 94.12; 105.15; 122.31

αρν-, αρωϥ prep.: αρωϥ 81.54

αρϥιν *lentil* 122.32

αϥε *loss, damage* 81.37,41; 82.25

†-αϥε *suffer loss* 82.35

ακαϥλε (a container, Ascalonion jar ?) 81.52 (see comm. ad loc.)

- αΤ-** priv. prefix: with infinitive, see **λαβε**, **πικνε**, **ωιβε**  
 with noun, see **ρωμε**
- αΤη-**, **ατο(ο)τ** prep.: **ατοτ** 94.11 **ετοτ** 107.28 **ατοτκ** 69.10 (comm.);  
 72.13 **ατοττηνε** 70.16  
**ετη-** 72.11 (for **αχνη-**?)
- (αουω)** f. *pledge, surety*: **εουω** 105.26
- αυω** *and, indeed* etc. 62.7; 70.25; 73.14,17,22; 76.7,11,22; 80.13,38; 81.55; 90.10;  
 93.6; 94.20; 103.3,15; 106.17,22,26; 111.39; 123.9,26; 124.26; 126.17;  
 127.13,33
- αζ-** perfect participle :  
**εταζ-** 80.8; 92.14; 105.31; 111.27
- αζρα** *why ...?*: **αζραν** 111.10 **αζραυ** 131.8 **αρω** (2nd fem.) 92.31
- αχνη-**, **αχω** prep. (*up*)on etc. :  
**αχω** : **αχωι** 105.22,79 **αχωq** 80.13 **αχωc** 105.80
- βεκε** m. *wage, reward* 77.32; 81.42; 110.9  
**βεκε-ρωζε** m. *weaving wage* 58.27
- βωκ** *go* 58.22; 69.3; 70.36; 71.23; 72.16,16; 78.24; 81.50; 90.34; 94.46; 102.10;  
 106.10; 109.28; 111.30; 116.7,11; 118.7; 120.24
- βαλ** *outside* :  
 adv. **αβαλ** 58.2; 62.15; 63.20; 64.5,30; 65.36,51; 66.7,27,41; 68.33; 70.20;  
 71.8,15,19,22,29,30,34; 72.8,14,28,29; 73.19; 77.11; 78.12,44; 79.19,26;  
 80.14,27,36; 81.25; 82.8; 88.29; 90.24,26,28; 91.2; 92.22; 93.9; 95.3,14;  
 98.2; 99.43; 102.24; 103.4,26; 105.17,20,47,55; 110.14; 111.24,27; 115.6,15;  
 116.3,5; 122.21,22,23 **εβαλ** 105.43  
 (Sah. :) **εβολ** 124.25,29; 128.25,30  
 adv. **νβαλ** 92.38  
 -**βαλ** (in compound, for **αβαλ** or **νβαλ**): **ειβαλ** 67.19 75.27 81.7 **ιηιυ βαλ**  
 78.36 **σιεβαλ** 113.11 **ψεβαλ** 94.43 **ογεβαλ** 58.26  
 adv. **νσβαλ** 131.12  
 ... |**βαλ** 65.12 (possibly **ρ-βαλ** *escape*)
- (βωλ)** *loosen, free up* :  
**βαλ-** 105.42
- βωλκ** *be wroth* 71.24
- (βωων)** *bad* (adjunct) : **βωνε** 71.9
- (βννε)** (fruit of) date palm :  
**βν-** 125.26 (uncertain)
- βανιτε** *iron* 65.24
- (βεερ)** *basket* (?), *scoop* (?) : **βερε** 122.28
- βρρε** *new, young* 80.25 **βερε** 125.13,23  
 adv. **ζαβρρε** *anew* 105.45
- βαρωζ** m. *caravan (driver)* 71.16; 92.14 **βαρωζε** 71.15,[[16]]  
 pl. **βαραζε** 90.12 **βαραζι** 122.25

ε- circumstantial converter

with nominal sentence: 127.19

with adjective verbs: 58.1,15; 71.6; 75.15; 95.7; 103.9,14; 107.31; 124.30 α-  
122.26

with existential expressions: 79.20; 81.37; 84.15,22; 106.30; 123.18; 128.13

see also conjugations (α- see Circumst. Present, Affirm. Perfect, Neg. Perfect)

converter as focus marker, outside conjugation: ε- 84.18 ερε- 81.45; 115.28  
(negated by MN-) α- 103.35 αρε- 102.13

εβατ month 72.33; 82.14; 86.13

εϊε see ειε

(ελαλε) grape : αλαλα 125.19

εν negative particle 58.29; 64.6; 71.20; 72.10,18; 78.31; 79.14,28,34; 80.22;  
81.16,33; 82.36,41; 90.27; 92.14,25,32; 94.54; 103.14,46,47; 105.60; 107.11;  
111.9; 116.3,15,16; 119.46 131.13

N-... εν 79.33

(ενε-) interrogative : nνε- 93.18; 110.6 νε- 105.38 N- 58.15,17; 70.44;  
78.50; 84.32; 94.15,46 NN- 78.33

ενε- remote condition 128.15

ενεϝ (be) pleasant to :

p-ενεϝ : p-ενε 77.24 (2nd fem.) p-ενεϝ 79.39

p-ανεϝ : p-ανηι 107.7 p-αναϝ 128.49

ερηυ fellows (reciprocity) 62.13,17, frg; 64.4; 69.6; 80.21; 84.26,26; 90.27,34;  
103.33,37; 109.9; 110.12,17; 128.29,31 ερηου 77.26 αρηυ 128.23,27

(εσαυ) sheep :

(Sah. :) εσοου 124.31

ετε- relative converter (see also conjugations)

with nominal sentence: 64.9; 79.39; 80.26

with existentials: 72.5; 90.14 ατα- 122.6

ετ- 91.5 (-cϣε) with adjective verbs: 115.10; 122.6

ετβε-, ετβητϝ prep. about, because of etc.

ετβε- 58.13; 64.15; 65.25,31,32; 68.36; 70.20; 73.22; 75.43; 76.40;  
77.13,17,20; 78.17,32,47; 79.13; 80.8,31; 83.2,10; 84.8; 86.7; 89.43; 90.15;  
94.13; 95.8,9; 98.1; 105.18,41; 108.22,24; 109.19,30; 110.30; 111.20; 112.9;  
115.44; 116.6; 120.29; 124.10; 127.31 ειετβε- (in ειετβε-εϣ) 77.12,16  
ετβα- 80.27 ατβα- 122.21

ετβητϝ : ετβητ 75.28 ετβητκ 106.8,9 ετβητϣ 64.2; 71.10; 72.21;  
81.15; 83.13; 107.19; 111.13,29 ετβητς 63.25; 80.16 ετβητN  
116.6 ετβητοϣ 69.11

εϣ what? 65.31; 71.24; 77.12,16; 80.7; 89.43; 94.13; 109.19; 114.2; 115.28 ο  
72.22; 83.6; 92.16; 94.15 ου 78.47

χε-ο what for? why? 77.19,20

εαϣ m. glory :

†-εαϣ glorify 58.33

(Sah. :) εσοϣ 127.14



(ΕΟΥΕΝ) m. colour ΛΟΥΕΝ 58.17

εω what (kind of...)? 60.7; 73.7; 79.44; 81.12,14,36; 84.9; 106.24

εωωπε if (it happens that) 58.11; 64.31; 65.51; 70.21,31; 72.18,19,28;  
75.28,31,42,42; 76.21,27,28; 77.15,24; 78.37,48; 79.42; 81.46,48; 83.8;  
84.15,22,29; 90.33; 94.48,52,55,58; 95.13; 101.2; 102.17,24; 103.21; 106.30;  
107.26; 115.35; 116.8,14; 120.13; 127.19 εσωωπε 86.19; 95.11  
αωωπε 58.2,28; 72.26

εωχε see ειωχε

εζε yes, indeed 64.5; 71.12; 76.36; 92.15 αζε 83.11; 105.46; 108.26

ηī m. house 60.4; 66.33; 67.42; 77.11; 83.3; 92.38; 105.75; 120.15 ηει 127.30

ηī m. pair, couple 106.42 ει 76.31 (read <η>ει)

ει come 59.8; 65.34; 71.14; 72.19; 77.15; 80.13,19,20,21; 81.9,15,16,17,19,26,  
26,28,35,49,54; 82.17,37; 83.6,15; 84.19,28; 90.5,7,37,39; 92.27;  
94.37,49,57,58,59,60; 95.9,14,16; 99.19,22; 102.4,7; 103.4; 105.29,44,64;  
108.26,30; 111.7; 115.15,19,26; 116.9,10,17,19; 119.52; 120.27; 124.22;  
126.33; 130.3 ī 58.21,22; 71.13; 72.21; 99.42; 106.32

ει νε<sup>ε</sup> refl. 82.38

ει αζηī come up 84.32; 94.55

ει αβαλ come forth, come out 64.30; 71.22; 72.28; 80.14; 111.27; 116.5

ει αζουν come in, enter 61.15; 69.3; 94.38,39

as compounds: ειβαλ come forth, depart 67.19; 75.27; 81.7

ειζουν enter, come here 69.11; 94.57

ειε, νιε, ζιε etc. (various particles)

apodotic: ειε 71.13; 75.31; 77.16,24; 79.43; 84.30 ειε 72.21,27 ζιε  
64.8 νιε 70.32; 73.18; 75.32; 76.28; 84.21; 94.52,56,59; 95.13;  
102.23,24; 116.14 νια 78.39

interrogative: ειε 72.13; 79.33

(ειβε) be thirsty

stat. α{ι}βε 124.24

(ιαβε pus, decay)

p-ιαβε develop pus 115.18

(εινε) bring, lead:

νε- 73.18; 76.30; 84.38; 90.40; 94.51; 103.7; 116.5; 122.22

νε<sup>ε</sup>: νεε 71.15 νεη 58.7; 76.15; 91.4; 95.12; 102.23; 103.48; 109.12;  
111.23; 116.14; 120.5; 122.26 νεε 64.28; 73.19; 76.38; 81.8; 94.38,53;  
103.17; 120.10 νεογ 90.42; 92.11,17; 108.27; 111.31; 120.33

imp.: ανι- 67.58; 71.22; 80.23,25; 111.5; 122.18 ανε- 77.36

ανι<sup>ε</sup>: ανιη 67.31

ειρε do [61.7]; 66.16; 76.62; 78.42; 82.35; 94.19; 105.81; 122.22; 128.49 ιρε  
58.32 ιρε 82.33; 114.5

p- 57.17; 58.28; 73.16; 76.25; 78.47; 81.46; 82.23,34; 83.6; 84.19,24; 99.22;  
102.6; 103.37; 111.44 επ- 127.37

- ρ-NCΩ** *be after, take care of (?)* 77.19  
 for compounds and phraseologies see **ΑΝΑΩ**, **ΕΝΕ**, **ΙΑΑΒΕ**, **ΜΑΙΖΕ**, **ΜΝΤΡΕ**,  
**ΜΕΥΕ**, **ΩΒΩ**, **ΩΠΗΡΕ**, **ΩΕΥ**, **ΖΩΒ**, **ΖΑΠ**, **ΖΑΤΕ**  
**ρ-** with Greek verbs: 57.18; 58.14,30; 67.7,58; 68.36; 70.34; 75.19; 76.52;  
 78.18; 79.14,39; 81.6,10,14,20,38; 83.4; 86.5; 90.27; 92.25; 99.19; 103.36;  
 107.13; 108.36; 110.24; 111.14,36,41,43; 113.2,9; 122.20,30; 124.10; 130.1  
**ε(ε)**: **εϛ** 76.46 **εϛ** 73.16; 106.25 **εϛ** 71.25 **εοϛ** 58.10; 76.17  
 (Sah.): **ααϛ** 128.47 **αϛ** 124.38  
 imp. **αρι-** 67.8; 103.38; 105.76; 111.29; 112.7,14; 120.27; 127.20 **επι-**  
 98.24  
 stat. **ο** 69.8; 81.12; 84.9; 90.33,43; 116.18; 128.14 **οει** 122.23  
 (**ιωρμ**) *gaze* :  
 stat. **ειαρμ** 122.23  
 (**ιωρϛ**) *see, perceive* :  
**ιαρϛ** : **ιαρϛϛ** 102.10  
**ειϛ-** deictic existential 58.16; 64.26; 72.33; 80.19; 81.24; 82.14; 86.13; 90.37;  
 91.3; 95.3 **ιϛ-** 67.46; 109.34  
**ειϛζηπε** *behold!* 72.27  
**ειϛζητε** *behold!* 64.11 **ειϛητε** 77.25  
**ειϛτε** *behold!* 82.16; 92.17; 94.25; 105.46  
 see also **ζητε**  
**ιωτ** m. *father* 57.1; 60.4; 64.2,7,27,32; 65.8,28,45; 66.17,32,35,42,43; 69.6;  
 70.14,33; 71.5,17,31,37; 72.4,23; 73.14,24,26; 75.2,41; 76.44; 77.22,28;  
 78.35; 79.1,3,21,45; 80.17; 82.21; 83.10; 87.5; 90.1,2,13; 93.5; 94.6,8,19;  
 95.3; 99.1,4; 105.32,79; 112.21; 114.2,7; 116.7,13; 118.3,6; 120.6,15,25,28;  
 122.1,2; 124.33; 128.34 **ειωτ** 123.16; 124.3  
**μντιωτ** f. *fatherhood* 122.5/6  
**ωηριωτ** m. *half-brother* 70.12  
**ιωτ** m. *barley* 78.47  
 (**ειτν**) m. *ground, bottom* : **ιτν** (in uncertain phraseology) 122.29  
 adv. **απιτν** *down* 120.20  
 (**ειωε**) *hang, suspend* :  
**εωτ** : **εωτϛ** 76.41  
**ειωπε** *see ειωχε*  
**ειωχε** *if (it is true that)* 83.11; 90.23,29; 102.23 **ιωχε** 73.14,18 **εωχε**  
 80.18  
**ειωπε** 76.36 **ωπε** 64.6,13; 65.26  
 (**κε**) *other* : **κε-** 58.12,15; 64.9; 65.4; 70.7; 76.30; 77.15; 79.17,25,32,44;  
 86.12,13; 91.3; 94.21,28,32; 99.27; 103.8,34; 105.32,38,77; 107.26; 108.25;  
 110.30; 113.8; 115.29; 118.4; 119.25 **βε-** 78.24; 81.45; 94.40  
 pl. **καγε** 80.16 **κεκαγε** 80.26; 111.21 **κακεγε** 61.4,28; 120.10  
 (**κω**) *put, let, leave* **κα-** 71.21; 73.8; 78.24; 80.23; 90.40; 92.22; 94.40; 103.22

- κα(α)ϝ** : **κατ** 115.23    **καε** 71.13    **кас** 58.3; 73.10    **καγ** 71.20; 104.3;  
 120.20    **καογ** 81.53  
 stat. **κн** 116.9  
 + 2nd vb *let, permit* **καε** 71.29    **καγ** 79.39    **кас** 72.21; 103.11  
**κω αβαλ** *remove, release* **καγ** 71.19  
**кво** *be cool, recover* 84.36  
**кβαβ** (unclear) 105.42  
**(κωβε)** *compel, force*  
 stat. (?) **καγ** *be due* (?) 94.32  
**κογi** *small, little* 64.31; 65.52; 70.7; 71.18; 73.7,22; 77.15; 78.14; 81.51,52; 83.3;  
 84.5; 86.12; 102.2; 105.77; 115.26; 116.5,6; 118.4; 119.66; 120.35;  
 122.16,22,28; 125.6,42    **κογi ναб** *young and old* 122.14    **κογei**  
 127.22    **βογi** 89.31  
 adv. **κογi κογi** *little by little* 94.26  
**κλεγт** f. *hood, cowl* 58.1,21  
**καμε** *black* 125.21  
**кim** *move* : (neg. + Circ. Pres. *not cease to*) 78.22; 122.28  
**(κμημε)** (*very*) *dark* **κμεim** 72.11  
**кн-**, **кнтϝ** **αβαλ** (vb of uncertain meaning:) *leave* (?) : **кнтγ** 116.3    **кнтн** 122.21  
**кн-тнне** 77.11  
**кнтε** *fig* 120.8; 125.24  
**κραγ** *guile* 72.5  
**(ξογρ)** (*finger-*)*ring* : **ξορ** (pl.?) 125.43  
**κατ** m. *motion, direction, course* 115.44  
**κωτε** *turn, return* 105.25  
**κατϝ** : **κατγ** 126.10  
**κωτε нса-** *go after, seek* 58.19; 102.12  
**κωτε** mn. m. *surroundings, region* 66.16; 99.50  
**καγ** m. *land, earth* 124.24; 126.12  
  
**λο** *cease, be healed* etc. 72.34  
 imp. **αλακ** 120.11  
**лак** *bowl, cup* 90.26  
**лекме** f. *piece, fragment* 64.9  
**λιλογ** *youth, child* 110.25  
 pl. **λιλαγε** 80.30; 92.19,33    **λαγε** 84.3    **нλαγε** 94.4; 102.19; 108.30  
**λεψε** *small portion* 66.14; 70.31(m.),38(m.); 78.41(f.); 108.37    **λεпсе**  
 71.34(f.); 77.27; 79.43(f.),44(f.)  
**λαγε** *little bit* 71.39; 76.50; 90.11; 105.48; 122.25    **λαογε** 105.16  
**λαγε** indef. pronoun 58.29,33; 63.23; 64.8; 72.6,15; 77.21; 81.19,33; 83.14;  
 102.6; 105.24 106.21; 107.20; 116.15; 122.34; 123.18    **λαаγ** 128.36  
**λαγ** 127.37  
**(λαβε)** *cease* :  
**ατ-λαке** *unceasing, endless* (?) 71.26

- μα** m. *place* 71.30; 72.26,29; 83.7,7; 94.41; 95.10,14; 103.18; 105.17,20,21,61; 109.15 110.21,26; 116.7; 122.11  
**μαν-** 71.9 see also ρHC  
**μα μα** *every place* 72.16  
 demonstr. adverbials *here*: **απιμα** 71.14 **μπιμα** 58.20,26; 70.6; 79.28,34,38; 93.21; 109.29 **ννιμα** 64.11; 70.18; 71.11; 75.35; 84.20; 89.37; 94.54; 95.5; 102.22; 103.11; 115.22; 122.24 **νιμα** 72.31
- μηε** f. *truth* 62.8; 65.8; 71.5; 72.4; 78.33; 107.29  
**ρμμ[ι]ε** *truthful, honest* 58.30  
 adv. **ναμηε** *truly* 64.13; 71.12; 72.19; 76.35; 78.32; 84.15,29; 93.16
- (μο)** *take!* **μμο** 90.41,42
- μου** *die* 73.8; 115.18,30  
**μου** nn. m. *death* 115.27
- (μαβε)** *thirty* **μαβ** 78.41; 79.38; 96.33  
**μαβ-** 95.4  
**λ** (in **λε** 35 for money) 130.4
- μεϊε** *love* 80.2; 90.24  
**μεϊε** nn. m. *love* 72.8  
**ωου-μεϊε** *lovable, endearing* 80.1/2; [88.2]; 90.1/[2],33/[34] **ωουμεϊ** 89.4  
 p.c. **μαϊ-**: **μαϊον** 128.40; see also **ρωμε**
- μαϊτ** m. *road, way* 84.27,35  
**μαϊζε** *wonder*:  
**ρ-μαϊζε** *be astonished* 67.18,26; 68.9; <73.15>; 81.23
- (μακμεκ)** *consider, intend*: **ακμεκ** 77.31 (here?)
- μκαζ** *be in pain, grieved* 80.15  
 stat. **μαχ** 80.23 **μαχζ** 110.26  
**μκαζ** nn. m. *pain* 128.19
- (μουκζ)** *cause pain*: **μαζκ-** 72.14
- μαλιμμε** m. (meaning unknown) 78.45
- μμε** *know, understand* 72.18; 77.9; 78.31; 103.7,31,37; 111.39; 116.2  
 (Sah. :) **ειμε** [128.39]
- μμαν** *no, otherwise* 58.28; 75.32,32; 78.18,35; 81.48; 84.27; 86.19; 90.33; 95.13; 99.25; 102.24; 111.9; 118.6
- μμαν** various particles:  
**μμαν** *indeed; for* 64.4,6,29; 80.12; 81.54  
 in **ημμαν** *or else* 58.3  
 in **αζε/εζε δε μμαν** *well then (?)* 64.6; 92.16; 105.46; 108.26  
 (unclear) 105.38
- μμηне** adv. *daily* 82.32; 94.20
- μμετε** adv. *only* 64.9; 105.28; 107.23 **νμετε** 122.13
- μн-** neg. existential 58.8,10,31; 72.5,5; 75.43; 84.12,16,22; 90.25,25; 102.13,13; 107.19; 122.6  
 preceding **ερε-** + Nominal Sentence 115.28

**MN-**, **NEME** prep. *with, and*

**MN-** 58.21,24,25,27,32,36; 60.4; 61.1,4,4,8,28; 63.6,30; 64.4,19,21,21,21,22,22,23,23,23,24,26,32; 65.2,2,4,13,28,38,38,40,42,43,44,45,46,48; 66.12,14,18,23,32,35,37,42,42,43,44; 67.7,17,18,28,35,38,39,41,47; 68.21,22,28,30; 69.6; 70.5,6,7,10,11,14,15,34; 71.2,6,9,27; 72.24,25,30,35; 75.3,5,10,41,41; 76.3,27,31,34; 77.3,4,5,5,6,7,10,26,35,35,35; 78.9,13,14,14,15,42,43,43; 79.4,5,5,11,22,24,24,28,29,40,41,45; 80.3,9,25,28,29,30,34,34,34,35,35,35; 81.6,20; 82.11,19,27,28,28,29,29,31; 83.3; 84.3,5,25; 85.7; 86.7,22; 88.16,17,18,19,26,27,28,29; 89.12,13,14,14,15,16,19,20,20,28; 90.2,3,10,27,34; 91.1; 92.2,3,4,5,5,21,28; 93.11,19,20,20; 94.4,7,7,9,10,29; 95.2,18; 96.26,28; 102.21; 103.2,5,25; 105.2,4,5,10,23,25,75,75,75,75,77,77,79,81; 108.20,34,36,36; 109.3; 110.2,3,12,13; 111.25,41; 112.18,21,21,22,22,22; 114.5,7; 115.11,12,26,38,38,39,40,44; 116.12,12,13,18; 117.1,2,2; 118.3,3,5,5,5; 119.59,59,60,60,61; 122.3,9,13,15,17,27,33,34; 124.address,2; 127.30; 128.23,29; 129.2,4,5,7

**NEME**: **NEME** 80.19,21 **NEMEC** 90.35

**NMME**: **NMMH** 61.1; 105.23; 122.22 **NEMMH** 114.5 **NMMEK** 73.22; 94.57; 121.1 **NMME** 71.22 **NMME** 86.15; 116.2 **NMMEC** 94.44 **NMMEY** 116.17

(Sah. :) as predicate in Bipartite Pattern:

**NNMMA**: **NNMMAK** 124.6 **NNMMON** 124.8

**MNMAK** 128.42

**MOYN ABAL** *remain, last* 66.40

**MNNSA-**, **MNNSW** prep. *after*

**MNNSA-** 79.12; 86.11,17

**MNNSWC** *thereafter, next* 60.5; 76.34; 86.5; 92.8; 111.20; 131.4

**MNT-** nominal abstract 124.13; and see **İWT**, (**MAİ**)**PWME**, **CAN**, **YBHR**, **YHPE**, **ZLBHT**; **İRİNY**, **İYERGİTİS**

**MNTE-**, **MNTE** *not have*: **MNTE-** 80.10

**MNTE**: (only construct forms:) **MNT-** 81.45; 105.20,47 **MNTETN-** 58.5

**MNTATN-** (sic) 122.24 **MNTΟΥ-** 76.42; 123.18

**MNTE** + vb *cannot*: **MNTE-** (2nd fem.) 94.53 **MNTATN-** 122.19

**MNTPRE** *witness*:

**P-MNTPRE** *bear witness* 82.13; 83.5; [98.10]; 105.22,79; 115.44

**MPE** *no, not* 77.18,22; 78.50; 83.12; 84.11; 93.18; 94.52

**MPOP** *no, don't* 71.20

**MPOA** *be worthy* 121.6

**MPOA** mn. m. 123.10

**MEPIT** *beloved* 57.1; 60.1; 63.1,4,[50]; 64.20; 65.1; 66.1,19,22; 70.[1],43; 71.1; 73.1,6; 76.2; 79.4; 80.1; 82.1; 86.15; 88.[1],8; 89.3; 90.3; 92.1; 93.2; 94.4; 99.1,16,41; 108.1; 111.1,16; 112.1; 115.1; 122.1,15,17,20; 128.48

pl. **MEPETE** 61.3; 85.6; 91.1; 92.8; 110.1

**MPOYE** *clay pot (?)* 81.52

**MHE** *offspring, generation* 117.1 (? - unclear)

- ΜΗϸΕ** *usury, interest* 108.25  
**ΜΗΤ** *ten* 99.27; 65.26; 75.10; 78.26,44; 79.38; 81.47; 95.8; 102.11; 103.22;  
 109.35; 120.35  
 f. **ΜΗΤΕ** 68.46; 111.6  
**ΜΝΤ-** 58.3,7,25; 76.27; 78.21,26,28; 94.32; 95.7; 110.10  
**ΜΗΤΕ** f. *middle* 90.25; 107.15  
**ΜΟΥΤΕ** *call* 94.30; 126.34; 128.32  
**ΜΤΑΝ** *rest* 79.18; 93.18  
**ΜΤΑΝ** nn. m. *rest* 61.27  
**ΜΤΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ** nn. m. *satisfaction* 80.26  
 †-**ΜΤΑΝ** *set at ease* 115.40  
**ΜΟΥΤΝΕ** *set at rest* :  
 stat. **ΜΑΤΝ** 72.26 **ΜΑΤΝΕ** 77.36  
**(ΜΑΥ)** m. *water* :  
**ΜΟΥΝΖΩΟΥ** *rain water* 124.26  
**ΜΕΥ** f. *mother* 65.39; 71.27; 122.9 **ΜΟ** 60.1; 64.20,23,26,29; 65.48; 68.19,  
 23,23,29,[30]; 76.47; 77.35; 78.15; 82.27; 83.2; 88.9,13,15,19,22,26;  
 89.11,12,13,20,33; 92.5; 93.19; 94.10,24,37; 95.10; 102.20; 111.24; 112.21;  
 [116.12]; 117.2; 122.26,32 **Μα** (sic) 70.14  
**ΜΕΥ** *that place* :  
 adv. **ΑΜΕΥ** 58.22  
 adv. **ΜΜΕΥ** 71.23; 102.7,17 **ΜΜΟ** 58.5; 100.3; 110.34; 126.13  
**ΜΕΥΕ** *think* 92.9  
**ΜΕΥΕ** nn. m. *thought* 105.62; 126.14  
**ΡΠΜΕΥΕ** *remember* 70.23  
 imp. **ΑΡΠΜΕΥΕ** 86.10; 111.22 (πα-); 112.14  
**ΡΠΜΕΥΕ** nn. m. *remembrance, memory* 61.7; 83.5; 85.2; 105.81  
**ΜΑϨΕ** *go!* 61.14  
**ΜΙϨΕ** *fight* 71.23; 77.25; 90.25,27  
**ΜΙϨΕ** nn. m. *fight, quarrel* 90.13  
**ΜΟΥΖ** *fill, pay* :  
**ΜΑΖ**<sup>ϛ</sup> : **ΜΑΖϣ** 75.17; 79.38; 96.34; 103.41; 109.14 **ΜΑΖϸ** 64.27 **ΜΑΖ**<sup>ϛ</sup>? 68.33  
 stat. **ΜΗΖ** 76.12; 77.18; 88.21; 122.32  
 p.c. **ΜΑΖ-** 77.7  
**ΜΑϨΕ** (measure of capacity) 95.7; 112.9; 113.6; 120.8  
**ΜΟΥΧΤ** *mix* 95.11; 110.18,29

**N-** negation: see **ΕΝ**

as sole negator (?) 79.33

**N-** attributive 57.15; 58.4,4,8,25,25,25,33; 64.10,10; 65.9,26; 66.14,24,44,44,45;  
 67.6; 68.46; 69.2,7; 70.8,17,31; 71.6,24,34,35; 72.11,34; 73.8,23; 75.8,9,  
 11,41; 76.22,31,31,31,63; 77.36; 78.21,21,26,27,28,28,40,41,42,43,44,48;  
 79.10,24,29,32,37,38,38,41,41,43,44; 80.1,24,24,24,25,37; 81.12,14,18,18,21,  
 21,24,29,30,31,36,37,39,40,42,42,44,45,47,47,51,51,51,51,52; 82.9,14,18,20,25;

- 83.14; 84.10,13,28; 85.4,6; 86.8,12; 89.31; 90.26,28,30,32,37,39,40,41;  
 94.22,32,45,47; 95.4,4,6,8,8; 96.30,33,33,35,36; 99.27; 102.6,11; 103.8,8;  
 105.33,33,34,34,35,35,67; 106.21,34; 107.25; 108.28,37; 109.33;  
 110.10,10,21,28,49,49; 111.6,12; 112.9; 115.42,44; 116.5; 119.50; 120.8,32;  
 122.2,8,10,15,16,18,20,28; 123.13,14,19,24; 124.23,33 125.6,32,39,42;  
 128.34,48 NN- 72.33; 109.35 M- 57.1; 63.1,4,50; 64.20; 65.1,24;  
 66.1,19,22; 70.1,43; 71.1; 73.1,6; 76.2; 79.4; 80.13; 82.1; 85.6; 89.3; 90.3;  
 91.1; 92.1; 93.2; 99.1; 94.4; 95.7; 105.23; 108.1,25; 110.1; 111.1,16; 112.1;  
 113.6; 115.1; 120.8; 127.37 NM- 78.41
- N- with infinitive 64.14; 71.34; 79.35; 82.15; 94.16; 103.49; 115.19; 116.14 M-  
 115.34
- N- identity 58.23; 66.46; 75.14,41; 78.41; 79.38; 89.40; 90.33,43; 94.27,29; 113.7;  
 115.31; 120.2; 122.10,19,23,29,32; 126.16; 127.9; 128.14 M- 66.45  
 69.8; 75.13,42; 76.45; 77.12; 91.3; 120.6
- N-, MMA $\neq$  prep. of object (trans. verbs) N- 57.13; 66.7,44; 73.11; 78.42; 81.16;  
 82.9; 84.37; 89.44; 90.13; 94.19; 98.22; 99.28; 107.10; 110.20; 111.7;  
 120.16; 122.24; 123.7,20 128.49 M- 62.15; 76.45; 82.33,41; 102.18,22;  
 105.81; 106.15; 115.22; 116.6; 123.12 MN- 77.19
- MMA $\neq$ : MMAK 73.6; 79.13 MMAq 78.34; 80.2; 81.52; 82.35 MMaC  
 71.12; 78.20; 79.17; 107.12; 121.2 MaC 122.30 MMOTN 70.19  
 MMA $\gamma$  64.14; 76.62; 79.18; 94.19; 105.31
- N-, MMA $\neq$  other kinds of relationship N- 58.1,9,18; 60.3,7; 61.6,7,8,9;  
 65.7,12,32,33,34; 66.32; 67.4,5; 68.6; 70.14,23,24; 71.4,5,8,9,10,35; 72.3,14;  
 73.4,12,12,12,17; 75.18,19; 76.6,62; 77.3,17,18,19,20,30; 78.4,8,36,36,41;  
 79.3,8,10,13,16,19,38,44; 80.6,15,37; 81.5,12,14,18,23,27,29,33,41,43,43;  
 82.3,6,13,41; 83.6; 84.9,18; 85.2,4; 86.15; 88.3; 89.1,5,23,24; 90.2,26; 91.2;  
 92.24; 93.4; 94.34,37,49; 95.6; 96.34; 99.3,7; 102.11; 103.9,21,24,30,34,41;  
 105.26,27,36,42,44,45,82; 106.16; 107.4,15; 108.8; 109.5; 110.5,20,21,44;  
 111.6,18,22; 112.5; 115.3,9,17,30,32,41,44; 116.15; 118.2; 119.50;  
 122.2,5,6,8,11,27,32; 123.15,17 124.5,24,27,41; 126.30; 127.31; 128.27  
 NN- 66.41; 72.34; 79.36 M- 58.4,15,17; 61.8; 66.16; 67.46; 70.35,38;  
 76.36; 77.10,14,17; 78.44; 80.30,38,38,38,39,39; 83.5; 86.8,17; 89.6,7; 91.2;  
 92.15,38; 94.33,56; 95.6,9,11; 102.7; 103.14,16,47; 109.34; 110.9,25,30,50;  
 120.15,17; 123.15; 127.14; 128.14,29 MN- 116.4
- MMA $\neq$ : MMAi 72.10; 82.26; 85.3 MMAK 86.6; 108.37; 111.30 MMAq  
 58.10,30; 79.39; 81.15; 83.11,13; 84.22; 92.30; 102.5; 105.14; 109.17;  
 116.3; 126.19,35 MMaC 84.13,16,23; 115.44 MMOTN 58.14,34; 59.4,6;  
 67.8; 84.21; 111.42 MMA $\gamma$  94.26; 111.21
- (Sah.) MOK 124.21 MMOq 127.35
- N-, NE $\neq$  prep. of dative N- 58.5,19,19; 64.32; 65.36; 66.46; 75.38; 76.29,32; 77.29;  
 79.38; 105.31; 111.28; 115.13; 117.1; 122.7; 127.9 M- 64.27; 66.15;  
 69.1,10; 71.21,32,36; 73.13; 76.13; 80.16; 82.16; 83.10; 89.9; 92.11; 94.19;  
 96.23; 106.43; 110.25; 116.15; 118.6; 120.35

- NE**: **NHĭ** 57.11,15; 58.2,6,11,32; 60.6; 61.11; 64.3,11,12,17,29,31; 65.16,34;  
 66.11,31,43; 67.20,60; 70.17,19,33,39; 71.5,10,18,29,33,35; 72.22,23,26,27,  
 32,34; 73.10,19,19; 75.17,22,42,43; 76.14,19,23,40,50,52; 77.4,6,13,14,17,  
 21,36; 78.12,17,25,27,29,45,46,47; 79.31,32,38; 80.25; 81.9,11,16,19,23,  
 31,40,47,48,48; 82.19; 84.6,14,31,36; 85.8; 86.11,16,21; 89.26,44; 90.43,43;  
 92.10,31,31; 93.10,14,19,24; 94.22,49; 95.8,17; 96.27,37; 98.22,26,27;  
 99.25,33,54; 102.5,8,18,22; 103.9,20,30,40,48; 105.76,76,78,81; 106.15,23,37;  
 107.19; 108.24,37; 110.30,32,45; 111.32,34,44; 112.9; 114.3; 115.13,23,37;  
 120.6,10,16,28; 120.34; 122.26; 126.5,6,20; 131.4    **NEK** 58.3,7; 65.31;  
 66.9,20,44; 67.27; 69.4,9; 71.21; 72.11,23,28; 76.28,30; 78.47;  
 79.12,15,15,21,36; 81.47; 82.12; 89.38; 94.17; 95.5; 99.6; 103.15,20,29;  
 105.57; 106.13; 108.5; 110.8; 111.5,13,23,25; 113.4; 114.1; 115.8,41,44;  
 120.12,32; 122.4    **-NK-** (in **TK-**) 76.50    **NE** 60.2; 66.24; 71.34; 75.41;  
 90.11; 92.8; 94.22,51,53; 95.15; 109.34; 122.27,28,32    **NEq** 64.12; 71.16;  
 73.9,13; 77.18; 79.39; 81.8,18; 82.18; 90.42; 92.18,27; 94.38,45; 108.21;  
 110.9; 119.26    **NEC** 76.36; 77.23; 94.17; 95.10; 115.25    **NEñ** 58.20;  
 65.25,33; 68.39; 69.5; 82.38; 108.32; 122.8,10,21,24    **NHTN**  
 58.4,6,13,16,26,28,33; 64.18,28; 70.24,30,32; 75.30; 76.10; 78.35; 80.8;  
 81.13 (but read **NHĭ**); 82.20,41; 83.5; 84.38; 91.4; 94.31; 105.6,16,25;  
 110.11,18,35,44,49; 116.9; 116.19; 122.29,29    **NHTNE** 73.10; 90.9,10  
**NETN** 129.11    **NEY** 64.13; 71.12; 76.49; 83.11; 105.36  
 (Sah.) **NAK** 123.12,20    **NAq** 127.38    **NAc** 128.35    **NAN** 127.21; 128.26  
**(NA)** *be going*: **NAE** 111.33  
**NA-** instans, after nominal subject: 86.20; 110.48; 115.44; 116.3,10; 122.16    **NE-**  
 71.20; 78.44  
 for pronominal subjects, see conjugations  
**(NAE)** *have mercy*: **NAa** 126.4,5,6  
**NE-** preterite converter 71.17 (possibly Imperfect); 90.6,6  
 for Imperfect forms, see conjugations  
**NOYE** *be about to* 91.5; 93.8  
**NOYB** m. *gold* 70.29; 75.43; 78.32  
**NOYBC** *jujube* 77.36    **NOBC** 125.18  
**NIE** see **EIE**  
**(NEIET<sup>z</sup>)** *be blessed*:  
 (Sah.) **NAIATq** 126.15  
**NKE** *thing* 81.24; 92.10  
**NIM** *each, every* 58.9,11,35; 60.3; 61.9,12; 62.6,9; 63.10,27; 64.17; 67.4; 68.6;  
 69.5; 71.4,14,15; 72.3; 73.4,21; 76.6,12; 77.3,13; 78.4,8; 79.3,9; 80.6,25;  
 81.5; 82.3,6,35; 83.6; 84.37; 85.3; 86.15; 90.13; 91.2; 92.24; 93.5; 97.5;  
 99.4; 102.8; 105.4,7,9,82; 106.16; 107.4; 108.6,8; 109.25; 110.5,31;  
 111.13,19; 115.4,9,40,44; 118.2; 120.17; 122.2,5,11; 124.5    **MIN**  
 89.1,35  
**(NANOY-)** **NANOY<sup>z</sup>** *be good* **NANOYq** 75.15; 95.7; 103.9,14,47; 107.31; 122.26;  
 124.30    **NANOYc** 115.10; 122.6    **NANOYoy** 58.15    **NANOY** 58.1



- ΝCα-**, **ΝCω** prep. *behind* etc. **ΝCα-** 64.4,6,9; 80.17; 83.15; 95.10; 103.13; 120.24  
**ΝCε-** 58.20; 71.11; 102.16  
**ΝCω**: **ΝCωῖ** 77.19 (in **Ρ-ΝCω** *be after* ...) **ΝCωκ** 115.23; 119.51  
**ΝCωq** 102.12; 128.23 **ΝCωC** 120.15  
**ΝCα-** *except* 77.12; 102.6  
**(ΝCαβλλε-,) ΝCαβλλε** prep. *except* **ΝCεβλλεκ** 81.45  
**ΝΤε-**, **ΝΤε** prep.: **ΝΤε-** 70.42; 71.5,9; 72.4; 111.26; 127.10,18  
**ΝΤε**: **ΝΤεκ** 103.45 **ΝΤεq** [90.32]; 120.4 **ΝΤεν** 69.7  
 (with 2nd suffix:) **ΝΤακCε** 90.14  
**ΝΑΗΤ** *merciful* 99.29  
**ΝΟΥΤε** m. *god* 62.8; [65.8]; 66.5; 67.4; 71.4,5,36; 72.4,7,33; 76.7; 78.6; 79.8,9;  
 80.10; 81.48; 82.7,13,16; 83.5,5; 91.1; 94.18; 97.8; [98.9]; 105.21,79,[82];  
 [108.8]; [109.6]; [112.6]; 116.10,15; 122.7,16; 124.28,39; 126.32; 128.18  
**ΝΟΥΤα** 126.21  
**ΝΤΝ-**, **ΝΤΟ(Ο)Τ** prep.: **ΝΤΝ-** 61.12; 70.26; 78.29,40; 80.18; 84.7,7,37; 85.7;  
 96.34; 106.28; 113.8 128.17  
**ΝΤΟ(Ο)Τ**: **ΝΤΟΤ** 57.1; 63.2; 66.2; 71.1; 76.3; 79.1; 81.1; 82.2; 85.1;  
 88.1,11; 89.4; 90.1; 93.1; 99.2; 105.9,24; 107.6; 108.2; 110.2; 111.2,17;  
 112.1; 115.2,15,28 **ΝΤΟΟΤ** 65.1 **ΝΤΟΤκ** 67.28; 80.24; 111.32; 123.6  
**ΝΤΟΤq** 58.8; 66.25,45,46; 71.[[16]],32,33; 75.42; 76.21,44; 77.12; 78.41;  
 79.38; 81.21,24; 83.1,10; 89.40; 91.3; 92.29; 94.27,28; 102.13,14; 115.31;  
 120.2,6; 122.32; 125.33 **ΤΟΤq** 75.12; 122.29,35 **ΝΤΟΤC** 77.21;  
 111.23,31,37; 113.7 **ΝΤΟΤΤΗΝε** 76.35 **ΝΤΟΤΟΥ** 75.22  
**ΝΤαq** (invariable) 58.17; 64.7; 90.31 (see also **ΑΝακ**)  
**(ΝΤΗΘ)** *herb, weed* **Ν†Θ** 81.53  
**ΝΕΥ** *see* 66.38; 71.23; 72.9,10; 80.21; 97.10; 103.49 **ΝΟ** 58.23; 64.30;  
 75.26,33; 78.10,22; 83.6; 84.31; 91.6; 92.29; 94.46; 102.9,15; 116.17;  
 120.27 **ΝΟΥ** 120.23  
 imp. **ΑΝΕΥ** 77.30 **ΑΝΟ** 58.15; 71.18  
**ΝΕΥ** *hour, time* 63.10; 85.2; 91.2; 99.4; 105.4,82; 108.8 **ΝΟ** 82.3; 83.6; 94.58;  
 115.3; 122.2  
 relative adverbials *when* **ΠΝΕΥ** 71.33 **ΠΝΟ** 79.35 **ΜΠΝΟ** 81.50  
**ΝΗΥ** stat. *be coming* 65.51; 71.29; 72.13; 78.36; 80.24; 81.14; 82.17,19,36; 86.18;  
 94.50; 102.23; 111.34; 122.24 (after **ΜΝΤΑΤΝ-**) **ΝΗΟΥ** 93.9 **ΕΝΗΥ** 66.27  
**(Ναωε-), Ναωω** *be numerous*: **Ναωωq** 71.6  
**Ναωτε** *protection, defence* 122.10  
**ΝΟΥqε** *good* (adjunct) *see* **CΤαῖ**  
**ΝΗΖ** m. *oil* 70.17,17,21; 86.9; 109.37; 122.18; 123.14; 125.39  
**(ΝαζPN-, ΝαζPE)** prep. *in the face of*: **ΝαζPακ** 105.21  
**Ναζτε** *trust, believe*:  
**Ναζτε** nn. m. *faith* 61.9; 63.20,30  
**(Νχι-)** subject marker:  
 (Sah.) **Νβι-** 126.14  
**(ΝΟΥΧε)** *throw*:

- ναχ-** 81.36  
 stat. **νηχ** 70.20  
**ναβ** *great* 57.14; 58.25; 63.34; [65.9]; 66.41; 67.6; 71.6,24,35; 72.34; 79.10,36;  
 80.8,13,37; 81.43; 82.18,25; 84.4,12; 96.30; 105.22,23; 107.25; 115.42;  
 118.4; 119.50; 122.8 **κογι ναβ** *young and old* 122.14  
 (Sah.:) **νοβ** 125.32
- πε** textual marker (background) 81.19; 84.12; 111.11  
 for the subject (copular) pronoun see Triadic pronominals
- πλβε** *torn cloth, rag* 109.32  
**πωλβ** *settle* 103.32; 110.12,16 **πλβ-** 58.34; 78.44; 81.25  
**πωλβ αβαλ α-** inf. *decide to (do)* 103.4  
**πωνε** *change, displace* :  
**ατπωνε** *unchanging, immutable* 85.6  
**πααπε** (name of 2nd month) 86.17  
**πηρε** f. *quail* 125.42  
 (πωρς) *extend, apply* : **πρς-** 72.17  
**πρηψ** m. *mat, blanket* 76.52; 79.28; 105.39  
 (πωρχ) *separate* :  
 stat. **παρχ** 66.45  
**πετ-** (invariable) 67.30  
 see also s.v. **ζαγ**  
 (πωτ) *run, flee* :  
 stat. **πητ** 105.46  
 (πωψε) *divide* : **πωψ-** 110.11  
**πωψ νζητ** nm. m. *heartbreak, distress* [100.2]; 105.23  
**παρογ** *hinder part, back* :  
 adv. **απαρογ** 92.15  
**πωρ** *reach* 105.45; 115.34 **πρ-** 73.23  
**παρ** : **παρν** 110.48  
**παχε-**, **παχε** *said* :  
**παχε-** 77.22; 94.39; 108.36  
**παχε** : **παχεϊ** 58.8; 94.42; 102.8; 111.9 **παχερ** 58.31; 75.36; 78.30;  
 80.17; 84.12; 90.11,43; 94.49; 95.8; 108.23,27; 110.25; 111.8 **παχες**  
 90.41,42; 101.2,3 **παχεν** 108.29 **παχετηνε** 77.23 **παχευ** 57.11;  
 64.5; 93.8; 94.30,36,44; 105.29,36  
**μαχε-** 70.32; 114.2 **μαχι-** 77.14  
**μαχε** : **μαχερ** 73.9,11; 81.9,26,54; 82.39
- ρα** *state, matter* :  
 adv. **ζαπρα (ν-)** *on the matter (of), concerning* 71.10  
**ρι** f. *cell, room* 81.27 **ριε** 110.21; 120.21  
**ρο** m. *door* 81.27

- ΡΩ<sup>ς</sup> *mouth*: ΡΩϊ 63.3; [70.2]; 82.3; 88.11; [93.2]; 99.3; 112.3; 122.2  
 ΡΩϙ 109.31  
 ΡΩ particle 70.44; 71.24; 76.63; 82.38; 83.12; 92.24; 94.12; 96.37; 102.14;  
 105.37,43,44; 110.8; 118.7  
 ΡΑΪC *watch, guard* 62.10; 67.5; 76.8; 78.7; 79.10; [91.2]; 109.7; 122.8,16  
 ΡΙΜΕ *weep* 67.15  
 ΡΩΜΕ *man, human* 58.29; 63.22; 66.15; 67.47; 75.20,42; 76.45; 80.10; 81.46;  
 82.41; 84.32; 91.3; 94.35,60; 95.11; 96.23; 102.16,23; 103.35; 105.28,79;  
 106.19,28; 110.7; 110.13,22; 120.23; 128.13  
 (with poss.) *relative* 92.3  
 ΑΤΡΩΜΕ *without people* 122.23/24  
 ΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ *loving people, benevolent* 57.13(MNT-); 85.5  
 ΡΜ(N)- 128.5; see also s.v. ΜΗΕ, ΡΕΟΥΗ, CΑΥΝΕ; ΚΗΜΕ, ΜΟΟΤ, ΜΩΝΩ, CΙΑΥΤ,  
 ΤΑΝΑΪΕΤΟΥ  
 (ΡΜΪΗ) *tear, weeping*:  
 pl. ΡΜΪΑΥΕ 105.80  
 ΡΑΜΠΕ f. *year* 70.18; 77.22,23; 90.37; 116.8  
 ΡΕΝ m. *name* 60.5; 61.5; 63.2; 64.24; 65.30,47; 66.13; 70.1,10,34,45; 71.2,32;  
 72.32; 75.7; 76.4,44; 78.16; 79.2; 80.29,30,38,38,39; 82.2; 84.4; 88.10;  
 92.28; 93.1,25; 94.5,11; 96.29; 99.3; 102.20; 105.3,60,76; 112.2,[19]; 115.3;  
 116.6; 122.1,14  
 (Sah.) ΡΑΝ 124.8; 126.17,29; 128.43  
 ΡΗC *south*:  
 adv. ΑΡΗC *southward* 111.7  
 ΜΑΡΗC *southern country, Upper Egypt* 79.27,34  
 ΡΕCΤΕ *morrow*:  
 adv. ΝΡΕCΤΕ *tomorrow* 102.9 ΝΡΕCΤΑ 94.22,50  
 ΡΕΤ<sup>ς</sup> *foot*: (compound prepositions)  
 ΑΡΕΤ<sup>ς</sup>: ΑΡΕΤC 90.31 (ΩΖΕ ~)  
 ΖΑΡΕΤ<sup>ς</sup>: ΖΑΡΕΤϙ 122.19  
 ΖΙΡΕΤ<sup>ς</sup>: ΖΙΡΕΤC 77.15  
 ΡΗΤΕ m. *manner* 82.15  
 ΡΤΑΒ m. *artaba* 77.36; 106.33  
 ΡΕΟΥΗ f. *quarter, neighbourhood* 77.4; 96.28 ΡΑΟΥΗ 85.8  
 ΡΜ-ΡΕΟΥΗΤΟΥ (sic? involving correction) *people of neighbourhood* 71.31  
 ΡΑΥΩ m. *care* (in phraseology with ϙι) 73.11; 110.44,44; 115.22  
 ϙι-ΡΑΥΩ *take care* 84.14  
 ΡΕΩΕ *be glad, rejoice* 76.46; 77.9; 90.5; 122.23  
 (Sah.) ΡΑΥΕ 128.47  
 ΡΕΩΕ nn. m. *gladness, joy* 78.11; 81.49; 82.8; 97.12; 115.5  
 ΡΩΥΕ *be sufficient (for)* 128.16  
*take charge, be responsible* 58.9; 90.24  
 (+ MN-) *deal with* 86.7,14  
 ΡΩΩΝ m. *cloak, covering* 58.24,24,25; 94.25

ρϣϵ *be willing* 94.21

ρΟΥϣϵ *evening* :

adv. ΝΡΟΥϣϵ 94.39

adv. ϣΙΡΟΥϣϵ 102.6

ϣΑ m. *side, part* : ϣΑΝ- see ΒΑΛ, ΕΙΤΝ

ϣΕ *yes* 94.48; 102.23 εϣΕ 58.11 αϣΕ 102.17

ϣΑΒΤ *wall* 122.10

ϣΑΒΤΕ *make ready* 71.20

ϣΒΤΕ- 106.17

ϣΒΤΩΤϣ : ϣΒΤΩΤϣ 116.10 ϣΒΤΩΤΟΥ 86.16

ϣΕΙΝΕ *physician* : ϣΗΙΝ m. 82.25

(ϣΕΙΡΕ) *butter* : ϣΙΡΑ f. 125.44

ϣΑΙΤ m. *fame, report* 78.33

ϣΑΐϣ m. *pair, twofold* 78.25,40,47; 79.20; 81.31,40

(ϣΑΛϣΑ) *comfort, encourage* : ϣΑϣΑ- 80.9,15,30

ϣΑϣΩΛϣ : ϣΑϣΩΛϣ 80.12

ϣΛΑϣΛΕϣ (meaning uncertain) *neglect (?)* 92.23

stat. ϣΛΑϣΛΑϣΤ 106.29

(ϣΜΙΝΕ) *fix, set right, repair* : ϣΜΝ- 103.39

ϣΜΝΤϣ : ϣΜΝΤϣ 103.43 ϣΜΝΤϣ 90.30 ϣΜΝΤΟΥ 58.23

stat. ϣΜΑΝΤ 115.36 ϣΜΝΤ 75.43

ϣΜΑΤ *sort, kind* :

adv. ΜΠϣΜΑΤ *of such kind* 107.22

ϣΑΝ m. *brother* 58.21; 64.25,26,30; 65.1,3,4,37,41; 66.1,2,3,8,39; 67.2,6,7,17, [34],40,46; 68.7,8,38; 69.2; 70.1,5,11,15,15,45; 71.12,17,21; 72.12,25,35,36; 73.1,5,[6],20,20; 76.2,25; 77.5; 78.13,14,40,47; 79.4,5,5, 6,30,42,45; 80.1,4,7,17,19,28,29,31,38,38; 81.1,6,10,38; 82.1,3,11,29,30; 84.33; 86.1,6,21; 88.1; 89.2,9,18,24,27,28,39; 90.3,5,39; 91.2; 92.26; 94.3,7; 98.28; 99.14,54; 103.2,5,7,31,44; 105.5,77; 106.37,43; 108.1,[4,7]; 111.1,3,16,26,34,40; 112.1; 114.1; 115.1,6,20,43; 116.11,16; 122.15,20

pl. ϣΝΗΥ 58.5; 61.1; 67.57; 70.8; 72.32; 75.3,41; 78.15; 80.28; 85.1,6; 91.1; 92.5; 94.10; <105.43>; 110.44; 111.42; 118.4; 122.14 ϣΝΗΟΥ 82.41; 93.25; 105.1,[26]; 112.21

ΜΝΤϣΑΝ f. *brotherhood, fraternity* 70.23; 72.5; 86.4; 115.10

(Sah.) ϣΟΝ 123.25; 128.40 (Μαϊ-),48

ϣΙΝΕ *pass by* : ϣΝ- 105.17,20

ϣΕΝϣ : ϣΝΕΤ (for ϣΕΝΤ) 103.42

ϣΩΝΕ f. *sister* 64.21; 65.42; 66.22,31; 68.22,37; 70.[9],43; 71.1,2,28; 72.15; 73.8; 80.29; 82.27; 83.3; 88.29; 89.16,21; 92.1,20; 93.1,2,19; 102.21; 109.1; 114.4; 115.7,24,37,38 117.2,3

ϣΝΕΥ *two* 72.36; 73.12; 78.43,43,48; 81.29; 86.8,14,18; 109.13 ϣΝΟ 58.24; 77.36; 79.32,41; 84.24; 94.33,56; 120.18; 122.18

f. ϣΝΤΕ 58.15; 65.53; 66.45; 73.8; 96.19; 105.76; 110.20; [112.9]; 113.8

- CNAYC 58.8; 78.21; 95.7; 105.35; 110.10  
adv. MΠCNO 71.21
- CNAQ *blood* 90.26
- CAΠ m. *occasion, time* 73.12; 82.20; 102.11,14; 105.19  
relative adverbial: ΠCAΠ 75.23  
indefinite adverbials: AYCAΠ 77.4; 84.4; 92.19 EYCAΠ 76.4; 78.15; 94.4,10;  
102.19; 108.31  
ZIOYCAΠ 61.28; 94.47 (+ NOYΩT)  
NKECAP 76.8; 78.11; 82.8; 90.7; 93.10; 97.11
- CΩP *spread, scatter* 78.34
- CΩPME *lead astray* 64.29
- CAPT f. *wool* 58.17,20; 71.34; 75.9,41; 76.21,23,26; 78.41,42; 79.31,33,38; 96.33;  
105.28; 109.31
- (CPQE) *be at leisure*  
stat. CPACT 84.17
- CITE *throw, sow*: CITEBAL 113.11
- COT *return, repeat*: COT AZOYN *relapse* 84.34  
(CTAI) *smell*: CT-NOYQE *good smell, fragrance* 61.11
- CTHM *antimony* 103.8
- COTME *hear* 71.11; 73.7,9,25; 80.14; 93.7 COTM 81.50; 89.29,32; 97.15;  
106.9; 120.26
- (COTΠ) *choose*:  
CATP: CATPOY 76.25; 79.39
- CATEPE *stater* 58.25
- CAV *six* 66.24; 75.8; 90.30,32,39,40,41  
-ECE 75.10; 78.26; 79.24
- CHV *time, season* 61.9; [62.9]; 78.8  
COY- *day (of month)*: COYE *day one* 86.17
- COYN price, value: COYNTQ 103.41 COYNTC 58.6; 64.18
- CAVNE *be acquainted with, know* 57.12; 64.15; 72.6,8,20; 79.33; 80.11,12,22;  
81.40,45,46,49; 82.9,41; 83.12; 90.12; 94.18,53; 99.24,28; 105.59,60; 116.2  
CAVNE mn. m. *knowledge* [63.30]  
PMN-CAVNE *knowledgeable* 81.34  
(Sah. :) COOYN 124.11  
COYWN: COYWNΓ 126.11
- CAVZE f. *egg* 80.25; 96.36 CAOYZE 81.51
- CVE *it behoves* [67.30 comm.]; 91.5  
(CAVQ) *seven*:  
f. CAVQE 76.22; 94.32 CAVBE 66.44; 78.42
- CAZ m. *teacher* 61.1
- CWZE *weave* 58.27 (in BEKE-CWZE *weaving wage*)
- CZEi *write* 58.2,4,20,22; 60.2; 64.20; 65.[5],25,33,36; 66.9; 67.1,60; 69.1,4;  
70.[3],33,44; 71.26,28,29; 72.10,22,26,27,28; 73.9,13; 75.38,42,43;  
76.1,10,23,40; 77.13,17,21; 78.5,16,23,27,34,49; 79.7,12,30; 80.17,18,33;

- 81.3,11,13,47,48; 82.4,12,15,20,36,41; 83.11; 84.6,14; 89.1,9,17; 90.9,16;  
92.8,31,31; 93.3; 94.60; 95.8; 98.22; 99.5; 102.18,22; 105.6,64; 106.14,23;  
107.18; 108.4; 110.8,29,32,35; 111.28; 115.7; 119.53; 120.16; 124.3,37  
ϥϥϥϥ 122.4,21,24,27  
(Sah.): ϥϥϥ 128.15,35,38,46  
ϥϥϥ 129.10  
ϥϥϥϥ- 105.80; 111.12 ϥϥϥ- (+ dat.) 89.44  
ϥϥϥϥ: ϥϥϥϥ 80.7; 119.27 ϥϥϥϥϥ 71.10  
ϥϥϥϥ nm. m. *letter, document* 72.11; 107.12; 108.21  
ϥϥϥϥ f. *woman, female* [70.9]; 75.5; 77.5; 78.38; 84.8; 90.35; 108.34,36; 119.60  
ϥϥϥϥϥ 72.25,30  
ϥϥϥϥ f. *wife* 65.38,[46]; 66.12,42,43; 67.17,38; 70.11,13; 72.24; 74.2; 77.35;  
82.29,31; 109.32; 112.22 with art. ϥϥϥϥ 113.7  
ϥϥϥϥ *woman, female* (?) 58.19 (precise meaning unknown, cf. P. Kell. V, p. 171, note  
ad 20.50)  
ϥϥϥϥ *speak* 73.21  
ϥϥϥϥ nm. m. *word* 58.8; 71.10; 75.43; 79.13; 82.9; 86.8; 90.15; 94.34; 95.15;  
102.4,13; 103.34; 107.16,22; 110.30; 116.2,4,5 ϥϥϥϥ 70.38  
ϥϥϥϥ *leave over, behind*  
ϥϥϥϥ: ϥϥϥϥϥ 92.15  
ϥϥϥϥ nm. m. *remainder* 127.9  
ϥϥϥ *be paralysed* 70.37
- † *give* 64.14; 78.30,31; 79.18; 84.10; 103.45; [105.31]  
pre-dat.: †- 58.11; 92.27; 110.9; 123.12 ϥϥ- 81.15 ϥ(N)- 76.50 (ϥϥϥ-)  
prenom.: †- 58.6; 60.6; 64.32; 70.31; 71.15,21; 72.22; 77.15; 78.25; 79.38;  
81.8,17,19,35; 82.18,21; 83.5; 90.30,32; 95.4; 97.9; 102.23; 106.42; 110.33;  
120.8,32; 128.21; 131.6 ϥϥ- 79.17  
ϥϥ(ϥ): ϥϥϥ 58.28; 70.32,39; 75.30; 77.18; 95.6; 103.24; 106.34; 111.25;  
119.26 ϥϥϥϥ 72.21; 90.34 ϥϥϥ 57.11; 58.31; 64.12,13,27; 69.10;  
76.29,30,32,36; 77.16,33; 94.38,48; 96.23 ϥϥϥϥ 58.5 ϥϥϥϥ 58.12;  
66.26; 76.12,13; 79.26; 81.22,41; 82.22,24; 92.10,17 ϥϥϥ 66.46; 69.10;  
72.13; 94.22,23,31,33,47; 95.7 but ϥϥϥϥ 109.36 ϥϥϥϥϥ 64.5;  
65.33,34,36; 78.29; 105.29  
†- and p.c. ϥϥϥ-: for compounds see ϥϥϥϥϥ, ϥϥϥ, ϥϥϥ, ϥϥϥϥ, ϥϥϥ, ϥϥϥ  
(Sah.): ϥϥϥϥ 124.address; 128.26  
ϥϥϥ *myriad, ten thousand* 81.20,29; 105.33; 108.28  
ϥϥϥϥϥϥϥ *thirty thousand* 81.17,36  
ϥϥϥϥ *seal, stamp* 81.54  
ϥϥϥϥ- 81.27  
ϥϥϥϥ: ϥϥϥϥϥ 106.35  
stat. ϥϥϥϥ 85.2  
ϥϥϥ *fish* 66.44; 76.31; 79.41; 110.49; 122.33 ϥϥϥϥ 78.43  
ϥϥϥϥ *entreat, implore* 67.4

- ΤΑΒΖϝ : ΤΑΒΖΚ 111.21  
 (ΤΑΪΟ) *honour, praise* :  
 ΤΑΪΑϝ : ΤΑΪΑΪ 84.6  
 stat. ΤΑΪΑΪΤ 57.1; 61.12; 62.1; [63.37]; 71.1; 76.2; 81.1; 108.2; 110.1; 112.1;  
 115.2 in rel. ΕΤΑΪΑΪΤ [66.1]; 79.1; 105.1; 107.6 ΤΑΪΑΕΙΤ 82.1;  
 111.1,16 ΤΕΙΑΪΤ 99.2  
 (Sah.:) ΤΑΕΙΟϙ 128.34 stat. ΤΑΕΙΗΟΥ (? uncertain, scribal correction) 123.25  
 ΤΕΪ adv. *here* 82.40; 105.67  
 (ΤΟΥΪΟ) *repay, reward* : ΤΟΥΟ 120.29  
 ΤΕΚΟ *ruin, destroy* 65.35; 106.41; 110.19  
 ΤΕΚΟ- 111.10  
 (Sah.:) ΤΑΚΟ 126.13  
 (ΤΕΛΟ) *set up (on loom), weave* :  
 ΤΕΛΑϝ : ΤΕΛΑΥ 103.28  
 ΤΑΛΗΛ *be glad, rejoice* 65.11; 71.7; 79.11  
 ΤΑΛΗΛ nn. m. *gladness, joy* [88.3]; 89.6  
 ΤΜ- (negation of infinitive) 69.8; 83.14; 101.3; 128.35 ΤΜΗ- 103.42  
 ΤΑΜΟ *inform, instruct* 79.13  
 ΤΑΜΑϝ : ΤΑΜΑΪ 64.14; 105.63 ΤΑΜΑΚ 119.53 ΤΑΜΑϙ 103.40  
 (Sah.:) ΤΑΜΟС 128.36  
 †МЕ *village, town* 99.22; 105.45  
 (ΤΩΜ) *shut* :  
 stat. ΤΗМ 81.55  
 (ΤΩМЕ) *join* :  
 stat. ΤΑМЕ *be fitting* 107.29  
 ΤΑΝΟ *make, create* 123.20  
 ΤΕΝΕ- 108.23  
 ΤΑΝΑϝ : ΤΑΝΑС 111.38 ΤΑΝΑΥ 58.19  
 -ΤΗΝΕ (suffix pronoun) 70.16; 72.9; 75.27; 76.35; 77.11,23; 78.46; 90.6,28;  
 105.41; 110.19,32,47; 119.45; 122.23  
 †ΝΟΥ *now* 58.9; 64.15; 65.33,36; 67.37; 69.4; 71.10,14; 72.12,17,27; 73.6; 79.16;  
 80.19,23; 81.19,30,45,50; 82.23,37; 83.7; 84.15; 86.13; 99.23; 100.5;  
 103.10; 105.15; 106.13; 107.16; 110.22; 111.11; 112.11,13; 116.7;  
 119.48,51  
 ψα†ΝΟΥ *until now* 94.35  
 ΤΟΝΟΥ *very much* 57.2,4; 58.18; 63.2,33; 66.2,11,30; 67.2,8; 68.9,29;  
 70.1,4,18,44; 71.1; 72.3,32,35; 73.3,5,19; 76.3,6,47; 77.3,4,9; 78.5,49;  
 79.2,39,40,45; 80.5,6,38; 81.2,5,11; 82.2,6,11,27,41; 83.3,4,13; 84.3,5,30;  
 85.1; 86.4,9,21; 88.2,25; 89.4,23,26; 90.1,6; 91.1; 93.1,10; 94.3,7,9; 95.2,17;  
 96.24,27; 97.6,14,47; 98.26,27; 99.2,8; 102.1,3; 103.2,10; 105.2,77,78;  
 106.6; 107.6; 108.3,7,32,33,36; 109.2,6; 110.2; 111.2,4,17,19,41;  
 112.1,4,6,21; 115.2,9,24,37; 116.4; 118.3; 120.1; 122.19,23,29 ΤΟΝЕ  
 65.2,28,37,40  
 ΤΟΝΟΥ ΤΟΝΟΥ 58.22; 86.11

- ΤΝΝΑΥ** *send* 58.13; 64.12; 65.15; 70.19; 94.25; 96.21,22; 99.11; 105.24  
**ΤΝΝΑΥ-** 58.35; 64.17,29,31; 65.31; 66.20,28; 69.9; 70.17; 73.9; 75.21; 76.52;  
 77.27; 78.46; 79.31,43; 81.30,39,47; 91.3; 94.26; 105.16,61,76; 106.26,39;  
 108.37; 109.10  
**ΤΝΝΑΥ**ⲥ: **ΤΝΝΑΥϣ** 58.16; 64.2; 65.27; 70.22,24; 72.22; 75.16,41,41;  
 76.50,53; 83.11; 95.5; 115.32; 122.26; 127.22,32 **ΤΝΝΑΥϢ** 58.2,26;  
 64.10,17,32; 68.15; 76.26,29,38; 78.39; 79.35,44; [100.1]; 103.10,20,28  
**ΤΝΝΑΥϢ{ϵ}** 91.2,2 **ΤΝΝΑΥϢϵ** 67.47; 76.24; 78.46,48; 79.14,15,21;  
 83.[0/1]; 94.14,15,16,23; 99.45; 106.35; 110.24 **ΤΝΝΑΥϢΟΥ** 77.36;  
 81.22,48; 90.9 **ΤΝΑΥϢΟΥ** 71.33 **ΤΕΝΑΥϢΟΥ** 82.22,24  
**ΤΠΕ** *upper part* :  
 adv. **ΝΤΠΕ** *above* 120.19  
**ΤΑΠΡΟ** *f. mouth* 79.3; 115.3  
**ΤΡΟ** *force, constrain* : **ΤΑΡΟ-** 115.14  
**ΤΡ(ϵ)**ⲥ: **ΤΡϢ-** 81.55 (?)  
**ΤΡ(ϵ)**ⲥ (in conjugation) *cause to (do)* : **ΤΡΟΥ-** 58.18; 71.34; 76.30,38; 103.28;  
 111.38; 120.5,10,33  
**ΤΗΡ**ⲥ (augens): **ΤΗΡϣ** 69.8; 77.11; 80.3; 105.61; 115.33 **ΤΗΡϢ** 77.4; 80.3;  
 96.28; 115.44; 122.18 **ΤΗΡΝϵ** 68.32 **ΤΗΡΤΝ** 89.44; 105.78 **ΤΗΡΤΝϵ**  
 67,50 **ΤΗΡΟΥ** 60.4; 61.2,4; 65.30; 66.33; 67.42; 70.45; 71.8,10;  
 80.28,32,36; 81.53; 83.3; 89.34; 92.3,22,37; 93.21,25; 94.36,47; 105.75;  
 108.31; 111.9,11; 112.19; 124.7,9; 126.15; 127.13,22; 128.43  
 adv. **ΑΠΤΗΡϣ** *in any way* 106.31  
**(ΤΩΡϵ)** *hand, spade* :  
**ΤΟΤ**ⲥ: **ΤΟΤ** 79.16  
**(ΤΑΡΤΡ)** *thrust, penetrate* :  
 stat. **ΤΡΤΑΡΤ** 72.6  
**ΤΩΡϢ** *be alert, sober* 88.23  
**ΤϢϵΒΟ** *make wise, teach* 87.6  
**(ΤΤΟ)** *make give, make pay, require* :  
**ΤΑ-** 72.16  
**Τ(Τ)Α**ⲥ: **ΤΤΑΒ** 120.14  
**(ΤΤΑΥ)** *buy* :  
**ΤΑΥ**ⲥ: **ΤΑΥϢ** 79.19; 103.36  
**ΤΕΟΥΟ** *utter, proclaim, tell* 107.16; 115.44; 116.4,6 **ΤΑΟΥΟ** 107.9  
**ΤΕΟΥΟ-** 95.15; 107.29 **ΤΕΥΟ-** 73.21 **ΤΕΟΥΑ-** 81.47 **ΤΕΟΥϵ-** 102.4  
**ΤΕΟΥΑ**ⲥ: **ΤΕΟΥΑϣ** 71.17 **ΤΕΟΥΑΥ** 71.11  
**†ΟΥ** *five* 72.33; 78.43; 79.41; 80.23; 81.30,39; 84.28; 91.3; 94.21; 105.27; 106.42  
*f. †ϵ* 110.49; 120.8  
**-(Τ)Η** (after tens) 76.27; 78.28; 81.42; 94.44; 95.6  
**ϵ** (in **Λϵ** 35 for money) 130.4  
**ΤΟΥϵ** *shoe* 125.14  
**ΤΑΟΥΑ** *pair of shoes (?)* 122.26  
**ΤΩΟΥΝ** *raise* 82.16



- ΤΑΨ** m. *boundary, district* 91.2; 92.15  
**ΤΩΨ** *define, appoint* 77.14; 103.27,44; 106.19,25  
 stat. **ΤΗΨ** 94.55; 115.25  
**ΤΩΨ** nn. m. *assignment* 105.41  
**ΤΕΖΟ** *reach, befall* :  
 (ΤΕΖΑ-) ΤΕΖΑΤΗΝΕ 110.47  
**ΤΑΖΑ** : ΤΑΖΩΤΗΝ 122.31 ΤΑΖΑΟΥ 80.36  
**ΤΩΖ** *stir up, mix* :  
**ΤΑΖ** : ΤΑΖΟΥ 94.33  
 stat. **ΤΗΖ** 83.7,8  
**ΤΖΡΟ** (meaning unknown) 121.5  
**(ΘΡΚΟ)** *quieten* :  
**ΘΡΚΑ** : ΘΡΚΑΥ 90.14  
**ΤΑΧΡΟ** *fasten, strengthen* :  
**ΤΑΧΡΟ** nn. m. *strength, firmness* 61.8  
**(ΤΩΒΝΕ)** *push, repel* :  
**ΤΑΒΝ-** 107.26 (?)  
**ΤΩΒΣ** *pierce, fasten, secure* :  
**(ΤΑΒΣ)** : ΤΑΒΣΟΥ 106.32  
**ΤΩΒΣ** *tread, pound (so dye ?)*  
**ΤΩΒΣ** nn. m. *dye (?)* 58.30  
  
**ΟΥ-**, **ΖΝ-** (indef. art.): **ΟΥ-** 58.25,27,30; 62.12; 63.34; 64.26,29,32; 66.13,14,28,41;  
 67.5,8,30; 70.17; 71.5,6,35,39; 72.34; 73.12,12; 75.21; 76.25,26,50;  
 77.22,23,23,27; 78.33; 79.10,23,36; 80.37; 81.8,20,36,43; 83.7; 84.23; 86.20;  
 90.11,26; 91.4; 92.13; 93.6; 94.47; 95.14; 96.30,37; 105.16,22,23,30,42,48;  
 107.17,25; 108.23,28,37; 109.31; 110.28; 112.14; 115.42; 119.50;  
 122.8,25,26,33; 124.24,27,30; 127.9; 128.15,22 -Υ- 57.14; 80.13; 106.34;  
 123.21  
 pl. **ΖΝ-** 58.23; 77.15; 82.24; 86.12; 89.30,34; 105.27  
**ΟΥΕ** *one* 58.15,26; 59.4; 64.27; 71.21,21,22; 78.42; 79.38,41; 84.21; 102.14;  
 105.38,67; 122.27 -ΥΟΥΕ 65.34  
 (in **COΥΕ** *day one*) 86.17  
 f. **ΟΥΙΕ** 73.10 **ΟΥΙ** 76.30  
**ΠΟΥΕ ΠΟΥΕ** *each one* 61.17; 65.30,46; 70.22; 105.29; 110.13  
 (Sah.) **ΟΥΑ** 127.31  
**ΟΥΩ** *finish, cease* 83.14; 103.35  
 as auxiliary of Affirm. Completive: 80.18; 105.30; 107.24; 116.2  
**ΟΥΩ** m. *news, report* 58.6,11; 83.13; 84.37; 94.49; 98.22; 102.8,18,22; 106.15;  
 115.44 **ΟΥΩΖ** 120.17  
**ΟΥΒΕ-** prep. *against* 69.9; 71.18; 91.5; 95.16; 98.21; 110.45  
**(ΟΥΑΙ)** *rush, course* :  
 (Sah.) †-ΟΥΟΕΙ *search (?)* 128.21  
**(ΟΥΑΙΕ)** *husbandman, peasant* : **ΟΥΕΙΕ** (uncertain) 130.1

ΟΥΕΙΕ *be distant* 107.21

stat. ΟΥΗΟΥ 116.3,7 ΟΥΗΥ 61.6; 72.10; 85.3; 94.58

ΟΥΑΙΩ *m. time* 61.6; 65.9; 67.6; 71.6,35; 72.34; 76.11; 79.10,37; 80.37;  
81.24,44,45; 96.30; 97.8; 105.44; 115.42; 116.9; 119.50 ΟΥΑΙΩ 63.26  
ΟΥΑΩ 122.8

ΟΥΝ- *affirm. existential* 64.31; 65.27; 71.39; 72.20; 76.30; 78.41,48; 81.46; 83.4;  
84.18; 86.19; 102.15; 105.22; 106.30; 122.33 ΟΥ- 79.20

(ΟΥΝΟΥ) *hour* :

pl. (?) ΟΥΝΟΥΕ (?) 108.22

ΟΥΑΝ *someone, something* 76.21; 78.30,48; 92.29; 98.9; 102.16; 103.13,19; 122.6

ΟΥΑΝ ΝΙΜ 61.12; 64.16; 92.24; 115.40

ΟΥΕΝ *open* 65.35

ΟΥΝΤΕ-, ΟΥΝΤΕϚ *have* :

ΟΥΝΤΕ- 109.30

ΟΥΝΤΕϚ : ΟΥΝΤΕΙ 81.20; 114.3 ΟΥΝΤΗΕΙ 113.6 ΟΥΝΤΕΚ 114.2

(reduced form) ΟΥΝ†- 76.26; 81.37

ΟΥΩΝΖ *make known* 71.12

ΟΥΑΝΖϚ : ΟΥΑΝΖϚ 103.26

ΟΥΗΡ *how much? how many?* 65.33; 70.27; 81.24,37,45; 82.20; 105.19

ΟΥΩΡΠ *send* 78.38

ΟΥΑΡΠϚ : ΟΥΑΡΠΕ 115.15

ΟΥΡΑΤ *be fresh, ready, glad* :

stat. ΡΑΥΤ 71.7; 105.11

ΟΥΡΑΤ *nm. m. gladness* 89.5

(ΟΥΩΡΖ) *set free* :

ΟΥΑΡΖϚ : ΟΥΑΡΖϚ 111.24

(ΟΥΤΕ-), ΟΥΤΩϚ *prep. between*

ΟΥΤΩĪ 69.4,11 ΟΥΤΩΝ 69.5; 128.29

ΟΥΑΕΤϚ (*augens*) :

ΝΟΥΑΕΤϚ : ΝΟΥΑΕΤϚ 72.7; 81.49; 94.18 ΝΟΥΑΕΤϚ 115.29

ΟΥΗΤΕ *remit, waive (claim)* 64.8

ΟΥΩΤ *single, same* 94.47

(ΟΥΩΩ) *gap* :

ΝΟΥΩΩΝ- *prep. without* 112.15

ΟΥΩΩΕ *desire* 72.19; 107.9 ΟΥΩΩ 114.6; 124.36

ΟΥΩΩ-*inf.* 58.19,23; 64.12; 67.32; 72.9,28; 76.28; 78.38; 83.6; 84.27; 90.29;  
94.59; 105.43; 111.8 ΟΥΑΩ-*inf.* 79.39; 92.10

ΟΥΑΩϚ : ΟΥΑΩϚ 58.7 76.46 89.36; 103.46; 105.63; 128.46 ΟΥΑΩϚ 58.3;  
63.5; 76.27

*in interlocutive phraseology, please do* : ΟΥΩΩΕ *α-inf.* 65.15 ΟΥΑΩ-*inf.* 67.60

(ΟΥΩΩΕ) *answer* :

ΟΥΑΩΒ(Ε)Ϛ : ΟΥΑΩΒΕΤ 122.25,34

ΟΥΑΩΡΕ *cease, fail* 105.37; 111.11

ΟΥΩΩϚ *make wide, broad* : -ΥΩΩϚ 99.16

stat. **ογαωϑ** 73.16

**ογεωτε** f. *reverence, praise (be to ...)* :

(in formula **τογεωτε μπινουτε** *God be praised*) 71.36; 82.16; 116.15

**ογωωτ** *worship* 72.12; 90.7

**ογαωτ** : **ογαωτκ** 82.7 **ογαωτq** 115.4 **ογαωτνε** 62.11

**ογαζε** *Oasis* (without article, as if proper noun) 58.22,32; 65.37; 68.11; 81.13,23;

105.36,44; 108.30; 110.20; 119.52 **-γαζε** 90.11 **ογαζα** 122.12

**ογζα** 130.3

**ογωζ** *place, dwell* 115.16

**ογαζ** : **ογαζς** 103.17 **ογαζογ** 105.26

stat. **ογηζ** 94.16,34; 103.16 **ογεζ** <69.3>

(**ογωχε**) *cut, tailor* :

**ογαχε-** 58.26; 103.16

**ογαχ(ε)** : **ογαχεq** 75.41 **ογαχq** 75.14 **ογαχες** 76.29,37; 103.29

**ογαχογ** 58.24; 78.45; 96.20; 103.20; 111.38

**ογχει(τε)** *be safe, healthy* : **ογχει** 67.43 **ογχειτε** [96.30]; [110.54];

71.35; 72.34; 76.43; 79.36; 80.37; 81.43; 90.45; [105.66]; 115.41; 124.38

(Sah.) **ογχαει** 123.22 **ογχαϊ** 127.25

stat. **ογαχ** 65.[10],11; 71.6,8; 78.7

**ογχειτε** nn. m. *health* [62.8]; 72.5; 77.10,10; 81.50; 83.5; 84.10; 89.44;

97.7; 105.8; 108.9 **ογχεεите** 112.7; 122.7,13,21,25

**ωβω** *forget* :

**ρ-π(ε)ωβω** 105.45; 115.20/21,33

(**ωκ ηζηт**) *be pleased* :

stat. **ηκ ηζηт** 73.14

**ωηζ** *live* 65.9; 66.40; 67.43; 71.5,35; 72.34; 76.43; 79.36; 80.37; 81.43; 90.45;

96.29; 115.41

**ωηζ** nn. m. *life* 73.23; 115.44

**ωπ** *count, reckon* 57.5; 81.42; 95.14

**ηπ-** (thus apparently) 91.4

**ап** : **апс** 62.16; 75.25; 111.38

**ωπ** nn. m. *account* 95.6; 103.38; 114.5

**†-ωπ** *give account* 67.46

modal usage *suppose (to do)* : **ап** : **апт** 70.41,43; 90.12; 91.4

stat. **ηπ** 64.14; 72.18; 80.12; 103.48

**ωрк** *swear* 107.25

**ωρχ** *fasten, ascertain* :

**ωρχ** nn. m. *security* 123.22

**ωтп** *load* :

**атп** : **атпq** 71.15,16

**ωтп** nn. m. *burden* 73.17

**ωζε** *stand, stay* : **αζε** 73.13; 122.17

stat. **αζε** 105.32; 124.28

ωζε αρετ<sup>ς</sup> *make a stand, be steadfast* 90.31

αζ-βω ζαρετ<sup>ς</sup> *remain (?)* 122.19

ω- *be able to* : with inf. 58.10; 72.10; 105.17,20; 107.11; 110.31

in modal ογν-/MN-ω-βαμ : 84.18; 107.20

ωα-, ωαρα<sup>ς</sup> prep.:

ωα- 61.2,10; 62.16; 82.20; 86.16; 94.36; 124.22

ωαρα<sup>ς</sup> : ωαραϊ 78.39; 102.4    ωαρακ 80.20; 82.10    ωαραν 90.5;  
103.4    ωαρωτη 72.7

(Sah.) ωαρων 124.20,22,34; 127.34

ωε *go* 67.48; 105.17; 120.22

ωεβαλ *go out* 94.43

ωε *hundred* 58.4,8; 65.26; 76.22,63; 78.21,26,28; 79.20; 81.21,42; 94.22,27,32,45;  
95.4,6,8; 96.35; 105.34,35; 110.10; 120.32

ωι *measure* 81.52    ωι- 109.35

ωιβε *change* :

ατωιβε *unchanging, immutable* 85.4

ωβων *cereals (?)* 78.46; 79.29

ωβηρ *companion, friend* :

pl. ωβερ 85.6

MNτωβηρ *mn. f. friendship* 116.3

(ωωλ) *shed, make flow* :

ωαλ<sup>ς</sup> : ωαλϥ 90.26

ωληλ *pray* 61.9; 62.7; 65.7; 67.53; 71.4; 72.4; 76.7; 78.6; 79.9; 82.7; 91.1;  
97.6; 105.8,82; 108.7; [109.6]; 112.6; 115.4; 121.5; 122.7,12

ωληλ *mn. m. prayer* 63.11; 79.37; 80.37; 96.31

(ωμα) *be fine, subtle* :

stat. ωματ 58.16,18

ωημ *small, little* 75.41; 105.42; 110.28

ωμογν *eight* 94.27,28

f. ωμογνε 122.33

ωαμτ *three* 76.31; 81.51; 82.14; 83.16; 105.33

f. ωαμτε 58.4; 90.28; 95.4

ωαμντβα *thirty thousand* 81.17,36

ωμωε *serve, worship* :

ωμωε *mn. m. worship* 73.16

ωινε *ask, question* 106.33; 111.7    ων- 84.11

ωντ<sup>ς</sup> : ωντϥ 75.35    ωντη 105.31

ωινε nca- *ask for, seek* 64.4,6,8; 102.15,16; 103.12; 113.4; 128.23

ωινε α- *visit, greet* 57.4,7; 58.36,36,37; 60.3; 61.29; 62.6; 64.18,20;  
65.[5],28,29,37,39,41,43,43,45,47; 66.4,11,17,21,29,30,30,34,34,36,39,42,43;  
67.2,6,25,33,34,40,[42],50,56; 68.7,8,[12],16,37; 70.[4],6,10,12,33,43,45;  
71.2,3,26,28,31,31; 72.3,23,24,29,31,32,35,36; 73.2,4,5,6,19,24,24; 74.1;  
75.2,4,39,41; 76.1,6,34,39,44,47,63; 77.3,4,6,35,35; 78.5,12,49; 79.7,39,45;

80.4,6,7,28,29,32,33,38,38,39; 81.3,5,53; 82.5,[6],10,26,28,30,32,41; 83.2;  
84.3; 85.8; 86.3,4,20; 88.5,[24,25]; 89.2,10,17,22,25,44; 90.4; 91.1;  
92.3,4,7,19,20,26,33,36,37; 93.3,[5],10,19,21,22,23; 94.3,6,9; 95.2,2,17,18;  
96.25,27; 97.5,13,27; 98.26,27; 99.7,32; 102.1,2,19; 103.2,5;  
105.7,10,76,77,78,81; 106.5,36; 107.4; 108.6,31,32,36; [109.2,5]; 110.50;  
111.3,15,19,40; 112.4,5,17,18,19,21; 114.1; 115.9,23,36; 116.11,12,13,13;  
117.2; 118.2; 119.61,62 120.1; 122.5,19; 124.5,6,9,41,42; 127.30; 128.42,44  
ϠINA 129.1,6

ϠINE nn. *news, report* 72.11,11

ϠANE *be ill* 64.31; 71.39; 72.33; 81.10; 82.14; 83.4; 84.9,29; 93.13; 115.18

ϠANE nn. m. *illness, disease* 84.13,16,23,35

(ϠNZHТ) *have mercy* :

(Sah.) ϠNZHϠ : ϠNZHК 124.33 ϠNZHϠ 124.31

(ϠANE) *exclude, deprive* :

ϠANEϠ : ϠANET 64.7,13

ϠPE see EϠXE

ϠPE *be ashamed* :

†-ϠPE *shame* 81.41

ϠП *receive, buy* etc.: ϠEP(-) (unclear) 122.18

(in phraseology with ϠMAT *give thanks*) ϠП 76.45 ϠEP- 128.17

stat. ϠНП 72.33

ϠPE *be, become, happen* 64.3; 77.16,24; 80.8,22,31; 83.7; 86.20; 92.13,16;  
106.12,39 124.10; 127.9

stat. ϠOP 69.5; 70.44; 78.48; [105.30]; 107.28; 115.44; 122.9,11

ϠOP in unclear construction 90.44

ϠПPE *wonder* :

Р-ϠПPE *be astonished* [60.5 comm.]; 70.16,25,44; 84.5; 89.42; 103.3; 110.5;  
116.4 124.21

ϠПTPE *be surety* :

adv. in ϠITϠ ϠПTPE 71.13

ϠPE f. *daughter* 63.1,4,50; 64.21,22,23; 65.40,43; 66.23,38; 67.40; 71.27;  
73.8,11,12,25; 77.36; 80.35; 82.28; 92.21; 93.20,20; 105.75; 113.9; 115.13;  
119.61; 122.16

ϠPE m. *son, child* 58.11; 60.1; 61.3; 63.51; 64.19,22,24; 65.29,38,42,44,46;  
66.12,29,32,36,42,44; 67.10,18,35,39; 68.27,31; 70.8,[10,34]; 71.2,3;  
72.24,26,30,31; 73.4; 75.6; 76.3,34,39,41,44; 77.4,6,6,35; 80.36; 82.30;  
84.17; 88.15; 92.4,6,11,12; 93.10,11; 95.2; 96.26,28; 103.6; 105.11,75;  
107.30; [108.36]; 112.18,22; 115.11,17,29,38,39,44; 116.12,18; 119.59,61;  
121.3; 122.4,27; 126.8

ϠП-КOT m. *half-brother* 70.12

МНТϠПPE f. *sonship* 61.8; 107.5

ϠAPП *first* :

adv. ϠAPП 92.7; 122.5 НϠAPП 58.35

ϠAC *shepherd* 124.30

ϣⲧⲁ *be in need, have defect* 103.22

ϣⲧⲁ *mn. m. fault, defect* 105.47

ϣⲁⲧ *m. pillow, cushion* 79.42; 92.28; 103.17; 116.8

ϣⲁⲧⲉ *f. portion (of fish, cf. also ϣⲁⲧⲥ)* 122.33

(ϣⲓⲧⲉ) *demand, make give* :

ϣⲉⲧⲥ : ϣⲉⲧ 81.29 ϣⲉⲧⲕ 70.35 ϣⲉⲧϥ 105.39 ϣⲓⲧⲃ (here?) 130.4

ϣⲉⲧⲟϥ 113.5,10

ϣⲱⲱⲧ *cut (off)* :

stat. ϣⲁⲧ *be in need (of)* 81.33; 116.15

stat. ϣⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ (unclear) *cut off (?)* 71.30

prep. ϣⲁⲧⲛ- *except, minus* 78.42; 79.38 ⲛϣⲁⲧⲛ- 88.29

ϣⲧⲏⲏ *f. tunic* 81.43; 105.18

(ϣⲱⲧⲡ) *urge, hasten* :

ϣⲁⲧⲡⲥ refl. + circ. *hasten to* : ϣⲁⲧⲡⲧ 66.9

ϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ *disturb, trouble* 78.40; 97.17

ϣⲧⲣⲧⲣ-ⲧⲏⲏⲉ 78.46

ϣⲁⲧⲥ *f. portion (of fish, cf. also ϣⲁⲧⲉ)* 66.44,45; 68.46; 110.49

ϣⲁⲧⲥ *f. cutting, ditch* 111.6

ϣⲧⲧ *m. warp* 58.25; 109.33; 111.26 ϣⲧⲓⲧ 79.32

ϣⲟϥⲟ *pour, flow* 105.80

ϣⲉϥ *use, value* :

ⲣ-ϣⲉϥ *be useful, be well* 67.45; 71.30; 75.33,37; 78.45; 82.33; 92.18,21; 109.18

ϣⲟϥ- see ⲙⲉⲓⲉ

ϣⲉϥ *m. measure, extent* 105.27

(ϣⲉⲟϥⲉ) *be dry* : uncertain readings (adjunct?) ϣⲟⲟϥⲱ 125.22 ϣⲱⲟϥ 125.24

ϣⲁϣ *jar* 64.29

(ϣⲱϣ) *make level, compare* :

stat. ϣⲏϣ 105.54 (here? - no context)

ϣⲁϣⲁⲧⲉ *f. cushion (?)* 82.18

ϣⲟϥϣⲧ *m. niche, alcove* 81.53

(ϣⲱⲃⲉ) *strike, wound* :

ϣⲁⲃⲉⲥ : ϣⲁⲃⲉϥ 102.10

ϥⲓ *take (off), carry* 90.12; 95.14

ϥⲓ- 76.21; 78.23; 90.11,39; 91.4; 92.10; 103.45; 105.39; 116.8; 122.25,34

ϥⲓⲥ : ϥⲓⲧⲥ 70.41,43; 76.28; 94.35,42,51,54; 103.16; 111.37; 115.27 ϥⲓⲧⲟϥ 76.63; 120.19

in phraseology with ϣⲁϥϣ *take care (of)* : ϥⲓ ⲙ-ⲡⲥ-ⲣ. 115.21 ϥⲓ-ⲡⲥ-ⲣ. 73.11

ϥⲓ-ⲡⲣ. ⲛ- 110.44

compound ϥⲓ-ⲣ. (+ ϣⲉ) 84.14 (+ dat. refl. + ϣⲁ-) 110.44

ϥⲧⲁ *m. (apparently so, of unknown meaning)* 71.25

(ϥⲧⲁϥ) *four* :

f. ϥⲧⲟⲉ 113.6

ϣΤΟΥ- 84.19

-εϣτε 90.37

ϣα-, ϣαπα<sup>ς</sup> prep. *under* etc.: ϣα- 58.12; 62.8; 67.53; 69.6; 70.27; 71.17; 72.4; 75.30; 78.26,30; 79.20; 81.22,27,42; 82.22; 105.8; 108.8; 109.37; 110.44; 114.2; 118.8; 122.7; 124.31

see also πα, πετ<sup>ς</sup>, ϣη, ϣα(ϣ)την-

ϣαπα<sup>ς</sup>: ϣαπαῖ 90.23 ϣαπαϥ 64.8 ϣαπας 70.44; 72.22

ϣα<sup>ς</sup> said: ϣαῖ 82.34

ϣαε last:

adv. (?) αϣαε 122.36

ϣαη f. *end*: (with art. θαη) 62.16

ϣε f. *manner* 58.9; 79.44; 81.12,14; 83.14; 84.10; 86.15; 122.6

(with art. θε) 73.7; 81.16; 94.16; 106.24; 107.11; 115.19,34,44; 116.14

demonstrative adverbial: ηϣε 72.18

relative adverbials: τϣε 79.39 θε 115.21; 116.10 νεε 58.1,18; 73.11; 102.16; 103.14,47; 108.13; 124.24,27 κατα θεε (sic) 67.23

ϣη f. *fore part, beginning*:

adv. ϣαθη 65.7; 67.4; 68.6; 70.4; 71.4; 72.3; 73.4; 76.6; 77.3; 78.4; 79.8; 80.6; 81.5; 82.6; 93.4; 107.4; 109.5; 111.18; 112.5; 124.5

adv. ϣιθη 78.20; 89.1; 99.7; 108.6; 115.9; 118.2

prep. ϣητ<sup>ς</sup>: ϣητ 81.42 ϣητκ 80.27,36 ϣητϥ 105.47; 124.29 ϣηττηνε 72.8 122.23

ϣι-, ϣιωω<sup>ς</sup> prep. *on*

ϣι- 63.40; 68.34; 81.32,53; 83.6; 84.27; 94.13,47; 102.6; 127.35

see also πετ<sup>ς</sup>, ποιϣε, σαπ, ϣη; ϣιτην-

ϣιω(ω)<sup>ς</sup>: ϣιωϥ 90.25 ϣιως 76.27 ϣιωως 64.17

ϣο m. *face* 72.12,12; 90.7; 97.11; 104.3

in phraseology ϣο ... ϣο 89.23

(ϣω) suffice it: ϣωε 84.24 (uncertain)

ϣω(ω)<sup>ς</sup> augens: ϣωτ 64.14; 67.60; 73.15; 82.25; 92.12,35; 107.7; 108.24; 115.19,34 ϣωκ 65.51; 81.38,40,45; 103.25,30,49 ϣωε 64.28; 83.12; 131.14 ϣωϥ 84.19,33; 93.9 ϣως 94.24 ϣων 80.27; 105.31 ϣωττηνε [61.27]; 90.6; 105.41; 110.19 ϣωοϥ 80.16; 115.30

ϣωϥ (invariable) 94.12

ϣωβ send 67.16; 78.40; 84.31,36; 93.17

cstr.: ϣωβ- 64.2 ϣωϥ- 76.20 ϣωβ- 66.13 78.47 ϣβ- 99.54; 110.15 ϣπ- 110.14

ϣωβ<sup>ς</sup>: ϣωβτ [105.18] ϣωβϥ 102.5 ϣωβς 83.10 ϣωβοϥ 120.12

ϣωβ m. *thing (done), matter, task* 57.17; 58.13,28,33; 60.6; 67.44,60; 71.20; 73.14,23; 76.46; 81.46; 82.33,34; 83.2; 92.30; 95.9,11; 99.51; 102.6,13; 105.18; 106.20,22; 107.15,18,26; [108.6]; 124.36; 128.46 with art. φωβ 77.20; 82.23; 92.24; 128.33

pl. ϣβηϥ 72.13; 111.44 ϣβηοϥ 71.24 (ditt. at line break)

- ϩΩΒ NIM *everything* 58.34; 60.3; 62.6; [65.7]; 67.4; 68.6; [70.4]; 71.4,14,15;  
 72.3; 73.4,21; 76.6; 77.3,13; 78.4; 79.9; 80.6,25; 81.5; 82.6,35; 89.1,35;  
 93.5; 97.5; 99.7; 105.7,9; 106.16; 107.4; 109.5,25; 110.5,31; 111.12,19;  
 112.5; 115.9; 118.2; 122.5; 124.5  
 P-ϩΩΒ *work* 72.18; [80.10]  
 ϩΒΑϸ *linen, clothes* 75.30; 81.22,31,40; 82.22; 125.1 ϩΜΑϸ 78.48  
 ϩΙΕ see ΕΙΕ  
 ϩΙΗ f. *road, path* 127.2,36  
 ϩαῖ *trouble, endeavour* :  
 †-ϩαῖ ΜΜΑ<sup>ϛ</sup> refl. *take trouble, endeavour* 84.22  
 ϩεῖ m. *husband* 64.32; 82.28  
 ϩαῖτε f. *robe* 58.35; 71.32; 79.29; 94.34; 97.34; 109.33  
 ϩαλεκ *ring, disc* [65.23]  
 ϩαλξ (meaning unknown, cf. ϩαλκϸ 39.43) 106.18  
 ϩαλλο *old person* 68.47  
 f. ϩλω 80.14  
 ϩαλωμ *cheese* 125.28  
 (ϩλαμλμ) *entangle* :  
 ϩλαμλεμ nn. m. *complication* 64.3  
 (ϩλαπλεπ) *be weary, despondent* :  
 stat. ϩλεπλαπτ 83.12  
 (ϩλαб) *be sweet* :  
 stat. ϩалб 63.3; 70.2; 79.2; 82.2; [88.10]; 93.2; 99.3; 105.3; 112.3; 115.3;  
 122.1 (in rel. εθαалб)  
 ϩηлбε (*something*) *sweet* (?) 125.15  
 ϩлбнт *gentle, kind* 85.5 ϩεлбнт 58.22  
 ΜΝΤϩεлбнт f. *kindness* 61.7  
 ϩμε *forty* 76.26,31  
 ϩμε- 76.22; 105.35  
 ϩам m. *craftsman* 103.39  
 ϩημε f. *fare, freight* 58.30; 75.18; 79.38,39; 81.35; 92.29; 96.34 ϩημη 122.28  
 ϩιμε see ϸιμε  
 ϩαμαῖ *would (that ...)!*  90.6  
 ϩμαϸ(τ) *sit, stay, remain* : ϩμαϸ 82.40  
 stat. ϩμαϸτ 76.37 (of things); 111.38  
 ϩματ m. *grace, gift* 97.9; 111.39  
 in phraseology with ωπαπ / ωηπ *give thanks* : 72.33; 76.45  
 (Sah.) ϩμοτ [128.17]  
 ϩамт *copper, bronze, money* 58.12; 64.10; 69.7; 80.24; 81.51; 82.21; 94.13,51;  
 95.9; 105.27,33; 108.29; 114.2,4; 125.32  
 ϩN-, NϩHT<sup>ϛ</sup> prep. *in, by* etc.  
 ϩN- 61.11; 62.13,14,17; 63.3,20; 65.12,36; 68.11; 71.3,7,7,8; 72.6,11,15; 73.3;  
 76.25; 79.3,7,11,42; 80.2,5,11,14,25; 81.45; 82.3,5; 83.14; 84.28; 85.2,3,4;  
 86.3,12; 89.44; 90.4,7,25; 92.6; 93.4; 99.3; 105.2,30; 107.8,10,11,17,25;



- 109.24; 110.21; 111.4,17,27; 112.3,14; 115.3; 122.2,4,12,12,29; 123.23;  
 128.41; 131.9 (in rel. εΘΝ-) 105.75 ζΜ- 57.3; 60.2,4; 63.15; 65.6;  
 78.8; 81.4; 83.3; 90.8; 94.58; 95.15; 99.6; 105.6; 115.4,8; 124.4,39; 128.27  
 ΝΖΗΤ<sup>ς</sup>: ΝΖΗΤ 82.10 ΝΖΗΤϙ 76.11; 79.29; 81.53; 122.11 ΝΖΗΤϙ 72.5;  
 76.32; 77.10; 78.43; 79.23,23,25; 122.33 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 73.10; 106.42; 110.45  
 ΖΝΕ<sup>ς</sup> *be willing*: ΖΝΕΚ 80.26 ΖΝΕϙ 79.39  
 ΖΝΟ m. *vessel, thing* 57.15; 64.10; 69.5,7; 75.42; 76.53; 80.24; 83.10,15; 90.9;  
 91.4; 102.23; 106.35; 111.10,22 ΖΝΕΥ 65.25; 72.20  
 pl. ΖΝΑΥΕ 64.4; 69.9; 79.25 ΖΝΑΟΥ 69.2 ΖΝΑΥ 81.45  
 ΖΗΝΕ f. *cloth, fabric* (?) 58.15,21,23; 70.31  
 ΖΙΝ m. *vessel, cup* (liquid measure) 81.52  
 ΖΟΥΝ *inside*:  
 ει-ΖΟΥΝ *come in* 69.11; 94.57  
 adv. αΖΟΥΝ 61.15; 69.4; 84.34; 94.31,38,39 εΖΟΥΝ 128.31  
 adv. ΝΖΟΥΝ 120.20; 122.31  
 (ΖΩΝ) *approach, be near*:  
 stat. ΖΗΝ 61.7; 63.16; 85.4; 116.8  
 ΖΩΝ *bid, order* 70.16; 90.29,30  
 (ΖΕΝΕΤΕ) f. *monastery*:  
 (with art.) ΘΑΝΕΤΑ 123.17 (here? see also at "Geographical names")  
 ΖΕΠ m. *judgment* 73.18  
 (ΖΩΠ) *hide*:  
 stat. ΖΗΠ 128.27  
 ΖΡΗ<sup>ι</sup> *upper part*:  
 adv. ΖΡΗ<sup>ι</sup> *above* (but in verbal idioms) 94.34,39  
 adv. αΖΡΗ<sup>ι</sup> 84.33; 86.18; 91.6; 94.55; 106.11; 116.9; 131.9  
 ΖΡΚΗΤ *calm, quiet* 62.2  
 (ΖΡΩΤ) *child, offspring*:  
 βΡΩΤ 129.3,5  
 ΖΡΙϙ *take shape* (?) 120.4  
 ΖΑΡΗΖ *keep, guard* [61.10]; 103.18,43  
 ΖΕϙ m. *dung* 72.17  
 ΖΙϙE *weary, trouble* 58.27; 70.[19],36,40; 90.10; 105.25  
 ΖΙϙE mn. m. *trouble* 89.31,34  
 (ΖΙϙE) *spin*: ΖΕϙ- 103.19  
 ΖΕϙΤ<sup>ς</sup>: ΖΕϙΤϙ 103.11,28 ΖΕϙΤΟΥ 58.18  
 ΖΑΤΕ *fear*:  
 Ρ-ΖΑΤΕ *be afraid* 83.7  
 ΖΑΤΕ *moment* 79.3  
 ΖΕΤ *silver* 125.40  
 ΖΗΤ m. *heart* 63.6; 72.7,14; 80.2,9,11,15,15,23,30; 81.32,49; 83.6,12; 88.4; 89.7;  
 92.22; 106.7; 107.10; 115.14; 122.30; 128.24  
 ΧΙ-ΖΗΤ *take courage* 84.26  
 adv. ΝΖΗΤ see ΜΤΑΝ, ΠΩΥΕ, ΩΚ

ΖΗΤ *north* :

adv. ΝΖΗΤ 111.6

ΖΗΤΕ (for ΕΙCΖΗΤΕ) 66.15

ΖΙΤΝ m. (meaning unknown) 94.36 (cf.? ΖΙΤ 46.2,6)

ΖΙΤΝ-, ΖΙΤΟΤ<sup>ϛ</sup> prep. *by* :

ΖΙΤΝ- 58.29; 66.8; 124.address; 128.25,28,33

ΖΙΤΟΤ<sup>ϛ</sup> : ΖΙΤΟΤ 72.14 ΖΙΤΟΤΚ 81.7

2nd pl.: ΖΙΤΟΤΤΗΝΕ 75.27 ΖΙΤΝΤΗΝΕ 90.28

ΖΩΤΠ *attune, reconcile* 105.19; 128.22

(ΖΩΤΡΕ) *join, fix* : ΩΤΡΕ- 107.14

ΖΟΥΟ m. *surplus* 70.35

indef. ΖΟΥΟ- *more* 84.16

adv. ΝΖΟΥΟ 105.39; 119.24 iterated: 111.35

ΖΑΥ stat. *be bad* 76.24

ΠΕΤΖΑΥ mn. *evil* 80.8,13,31 ΠΕΘΑΥ 83.7

(Sah. :) ΠΕΘΟΥ 127.38

(ΖΗΥ) *profit, advantage* : ΖΗΟΥ 83.14

ΖΟΥΥ m. *day* 58.5; 63.43; 75.26; 77.16,30; 78.37; 82.13; 84.18,24,28; 86.12,18;

91.3,5; 94.33,56; 95.9; 102.7; 110.25,48; 120.17; 124.23 ΖΩΟΥ (with art.

ΦΩΟΥ) 126.12 ΖΟΥΕ 65.34; 79.17; 82.41; 99.27

pl. ΖΡΕΥ 84.19

adv. ΜΠΟΥΟΥ *today* 78.20 ΠΟΥΟΥ 110.26 ΠΟΥΕ 124.23

ΖΩΟΥ *rain* :

ΜΟΥΝΖΩΟΥ m. *rain water* 124.26

ΖΑΥΤ *male* 70.9

ΖΑΖ (Ν-) *much, many* 69.2; 82.9; 119.28

ΖΑ(Ζ)ΤΝ-, ΖΑ(Ζ)ΤΗ<sup>ϛ</sup> prep. *by the side of, near* :

ΖΑΤΗ 72.31; 82.32 ΖΑΤΗΚ 65.29 (with rel. ΕΘ.) 71.21; 81.46; 103.3,13;

110.44; 112.19; 118.4 (ΕΘ.); 121.5 ΖΑΤΗ 102.15 ΖΑΤΗΝ 80.32; 84.19

ΖΑΤΗΤΝ 58.36 ΖΑΤΝΤΗΝΕ 61.29

ΧΕ various conjunctions:

causal: 57.11,19; 58.27; 63.17,21,31; 64.32; 67.18,26; 68.9,38; 70.17,44;

71.24,39; 76.15,24; 77.9,14,15,19,22; 79.16,39; 80.18,21; 81.7,11,23,32,40;

82.12,19,24,37,38,41; 83.6,13; 84.14; 86.9,18; 89.43; 90.13,33,44; 92.23,31;

102.22; 103.3,11,46; 105.24,43; 106.8,18; 107.22,23; 110.11,26; 114.3,4;

116.6; 119.28; 120.24,30; 124.21; 126.22; 128.24 Χ- 122.20 χα

122.23,28,34,35

discourse introductory (and sim.) 57.11; 58.2,5,7,8,15,17,31; 64.5; 65.33,34,36;

67.20; 69.5; 70.16,25,36,44; 71.13,13,18,19,20,23,25,29,32; 72.14,15,20,22,

26; 73.8,9,13,15,25; 75.37; 76.23,50; 77.14,18,21,22,23,24; 78.18,20,22,27,

31,33,50; 79.14,18,26,31,31,33; 80.13,14,17,17; 81.9,12,13,15,26,45,46,54;

82.13,20,34,36,39; 83.4,5,10,11,12,15; 84.6,9,10,12,31; 86.10,11; 89.30,32;

90.11,12,27,31,41,42,43; 92.9,9,29,32; 93.8,18; 94.14,30,36,40,43,44,46,

- 46,50,54; 95.8,13; 97.15; 101.2,3; 102.8,15; 103.7,16,31; 105.22,29,60,63,80; 106.23; 107.13; 108.23,28,29,36; 110.23; 111.5,8,9,23,34; 113.6; 114.2; 115.14,15,25; 121.2; 123.6; 128.17; 131.2 **χα** 122.22,30,31; 129.11  
 purpose: 61.10; 63.13,46; 64.7; 73.23; 91.4; 103.12,35; 106.41; 111.43; 114.3; 127.37 **χ(ε)-** in coalescence with initial **ε-** 57.13; 61.21; 64.27; 65.8; 67.5; 70.32; 71.5; 73.16; 76.7; 78.7; 80.36; 86.6; 91.1; 109.7; 110.29; 111.38; 116.17; 122.8
- χι** *take, receive* 66.44; 77.19; 95.13; 105.24; 110.38; 123.6  
**χι-** 58.8; 64.7; 66.23,45; 70.30; 71.32; 72.11; 75.7,24,42; 76.23,35,44; 77.9,11,21; 78.28,40,41,50; 79.28,31,38,41,43; 80.26; 88.20; 89.30,34,37; 90.[28],31,32; 91.2; 96.33,36; 108.21; 110.28; 114.4; 115.31; 120.13; 122.28,32,35  
**ΧΙΤ**⁹: **ΧΙΤ** 115.27 **ΧΙΤΕ** 71.13 **ΧΙΤϚ** 58.28; 71.15; 90.11; 105.64; 111.23; 115.33 **ΧΙΤC** 112.13 **ΧΙΤΟΥ** 58.13; 71.33; 75.12; 79.27; 110.27,49; 111.31; 112.10  
 for compounds see **ΜΚΑΛ**, **ΖΗΤ**
- χο** *send, put forth* : **χω** 122.28  
**χω** *say* 71.12; 78.19; 107.12; 121.2; 122.30  
**χε-** 114.6  
**χο(ο)**⁹: **χοϚ** 110.23 **χοοϚ** 114.1 **χoc** 57.12; 58.6; 67.20; 71.18,19,20,25,32; 72.15; 73.12; 77.14,23,29; 78.18; 79.25,31; 80.16; 83.4,15; 86.10; 94.45; 95.10,13; 102.8; 103.15; 108.21; 111.5,13,34; 113.4,6; 115.13,25; 118.6; 120.30; 122.22,30; 131.2  
 imp. **αχοc** 76.49  
 (**χω**⁹) *head* :  
 adv. (**ΝCαχω**⁹ *headlong*⁹): **ΝCαχο** 73.16  
**χαβα(α)τ** *stat. be hard* : **χαβατ** 73.17  
**χαϊc** *m. lord* 57.3; 60.2; 61.5; 64.25; 65.1,[6]; 66.5; 68.8; 69.8,10; 70.2,33; 71.3; 73.3; 79.1,7; 80.1,5; 81.1,4; 82.5; 86.1,3,6; 89.3,44; 90.1,3,4; 92.6; [99.6]; 105.1,6; 108.1,5; [112.4]; 115.1,8,42; 118.3; 122.4 **χαειc** 93.4; 111.4,18  
*f. lady* 65.40; 71.28; 88.7; 115.24; 122.9  
*pl.* **ΧΙCαΥΕ** 82.41; 85.1; 110.1; 111.43; 115.11; 122.14  
 (Sah.:) **χοειc** 123.23; 124.4,39; 126.20,25,30; 128.48  
**χαϊτ** *m. olive* 106.34  
**ΧΙΤ-** (specifier unidentified) 125.20,21  
**χωκ** *complete, accomplish* 62.15; 78.12; 82.8; 97.12; 115.5  
**χεκac** *in order that* 62.9; 127.15,36 **χενκac** 123.10  
**χλβε** *f. (thing sewn, so) cloth bag* (?) 64.26,30; 70.30; 76.44; 77.19; 79.19; 122.32,35 **χηλβε** 88.20; 115.31 **χηλβα** 89.38  
 (**χωμε**) *m. book* : **χωμ** 120.2 (read **χωμ<ε>**⁹) **χωωμε** 127.31  
**χN-** *or, whether ... or* 83.12; 84.11; 93.18 **ζN-** 77.18,21; 78.50  
**χN(N)-** *prep. since, from* : **χN-** 72.35 **χNM-** 102.14; 116.9 **χNN-** (+ clause) 105.19  
 (**χNΟΥ**) *interrogate* : **χNΟΥ-** 82.38

- ΧΝΟΥϚ** : **ΧΝΟΥϥ** 79.39  
**ΧΝΑϚ** forearm, violence :  
 adv. **ΝΧΝΑϚ** violently 115.27  
**(ΧΤΟ)** lay low, throw down :  
**ϣΤΟ** mn. m. place to lay down (?) 115.17; 120.23  
**ΧΑΥ** send 102.11; 120.14  
**ΧΟΥ-** 120.35  
**ΧΑΥϚ** : **ΧΑΥϥ** 58.27 **ΧΑΥϚ** 58.32; 79.34 **ΧΑΥϚΕ** 104.2,2,3 **ΧΑΥϚΟΥ** 79.26  
**ΧΑΥ** **ΑΒΑΛ** 71.34  
**ΧΟΥΩΤ** twenty 76.62; 81.21; 105.34; 123.13  
**ΧΟΥΤ-** 79.24; 81.42; 90.37; 94.44; 95.6  
**(ΧΟΥϥ)** be costly, rare :  
 stat. **ΧΗϥ** 78.19; 79.16,19  
**ΧΩϚ** touch 103.18  
**ΧΗΒΕ** purple (dye) 66.15,24; 77.18; 79.43; 81.18,47; 103.8,24,35,45; 108.37  
  
**ΒΕ** particle (consecutive, adversative) 58.4,9,21; 64.5,26; 67.37; 69.4; 71.10,27,29;  
 72.12; 73.6; 77.9,15; 78.17,47; 79.30; 80.7; 86.13; 89.29; 92.16; 95.3;  
 97.15; 102.3; 103.21; 105.15,46; 107.16; 108.26; 109.19; 110.22,30; 115.27;  
 119.51; 124.32; 127.31,36; 128.37,39  
 adnegative (not) any more 99.54  
**ΒΩ** stay, remain 122.19  
 with Circ. Pres. 83.7; 115.36  
 (in Neg. Imp.) followed by Circ. Neg. Perf. (do not) remain without (doing) 64.30;  
 80.20; 99.54; 105.68; 106.14; 116.5,14; 120.22  
**(ΒΩΛ)** roll back, turn down :  
 stat. **ΒΗΛ** 90.28  
**ΒΛΑΜ** hasten :  
 adv. **ΝΒΛΑΜ** quickly 72.23; 112.13  
**ΒΑΛΜ** dry sticks, twigs 66.24  
**ΒΛΑΝΒΑΛ** m. adversity, disaster 63.27; 65.14; 80.22 **ΒΛΜΒΑΛ** 71.9  
**ΒΩΛΠ** disclose, reveal :  
**ΒΩΛΠ** **ΕΒΑΛ** mn. m. disclosure, openness 128.29  
**ΒΑΛΑϚΤ** f. pot 96.36,37  
**ΒΑΜ** f. power 80.10; 94.15; 115.28; 119.47  
 (after **ΟΥΝ-/ΜΝ-**) possibility 64.31; 83.4; 84.18; 106.31; 107.20  
**ΒΑΝ** low, hollow place (?) 76.25  
**ΒΙΝΕ** find 66.7; 103.14  
**ΒΝ-** 58.15,17; 75.29; 79.23,33; 82.15; 83.13; 84.32; 90.36; 91.3; 94.16,60;  
 105.26,32; [107.11]; 115.19,34; 116.14; 122.26  
 for compound see **ΑΡΙΚΕ**  
**ΒΝΤϚ** : **ΒΝΤϥ** 102.12 **ΒΝΤϚ** 65.35; 79.35; 90.8; 102.11; 119.52 **ΒΝΤΝ**  
 84.25 **ΒΝΤΟΥ** 58.10; 81.54; 105.40

- βνβωρ** m. *talent* 58.4; 78.21,28; 81.21,29,36,42; 95.4,8; 96.35; 105.34,35; 110.10; 120.32  
**βεπ** (measure of corn?) 105.76  
**βωρζ** *night* :  
     adv. **νβωρζ** *at night* 93.12  
**βρηβε** f. *dowry* 105.20  
**βας** *half* 77.23    **κας** 76.37  
     **βις-** 108.28  
**βαογαν** m. *slave* :  
     (Sah. :) **βαγαν** 126.7,24  
     pl. **ββανε** 129.8  
**βωογω** *trouble (?)* :  
     **βαγω** (refl.): **βαγωκ** 103.12  
**βωωτ** *look* 124.23; 127.36  
     **βωωτ αβαλ** (ζητ<sup>ς</sup>) *look out, watch out* [105.46]; 124.29  
     stat. **βωωτ** 72.8; 80.27,36; 124.25 (βωωτ{q})  
**βιχ** f. *hand* 79.29; 103.21,30  
**βαβε** *baked loaf, cake* 106.40

## Loan words

- ἀγαθός** : **αγαθον** m. 63.12  
     [ΜΝΤ]αγαθος f. 124.12  
**ἀγάπη** **αγαπη** f. <72.6>; 82.9; 85.4; 112.14; 124.14; 127.20  
**ἀγαπητός** **αγαπητος** m. 122.2; 123.24; 124.42  
**ἄγγελος** **αγγελος** 124.27  
**ἀγγεῖον** **ακον** 125.39    **εκον** 92.28  
 (αἰσθάνεσθαι) **ρ-αισθανε** 107.13  
**ἀκριβῶς** **ακριβως** [58.32]  
**ἀλλά** **αλλα** 63.39; 70.37,39; 72.9; 78.19; 82.15; 83.4,6; 92.12; 94.17; 106.29; 107.14; 111.29; 115.21,29  
**ἄλλοτριος** *not liable* **αλλοτριον** 90.33,43  
**ἀμέλεια** **αμελια** 92.13  
 (ἀμελεῖν) *neglect* **ρ-αμελει** 57.18; 111.14,36    (ρ-)αμελι 58.30,33,34; 76.52; 78.18; 79.14; 113.2,9; 122.30; 127.31    **ρ-αμελη** 110.24    (ρ-)αμελε 92.25; 106.20  
**ἀναγκᾶλος** attr. **αναγκαιον** 103.9  
**ἀνάγκη** **αναγκη** 99.23  
**ἀντιλογία** **αντιλογια** 123.19  
**ἄξιος** **αξιος** 128.14

- (ἀξιούν) ρ-ΑΣΙΟΥ 58.14; 67.8; 86.5; 108.36; 111.41  
 (ἀπαντᾶν) ρ-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ (+ α-) *meet, encounter* 99.19 (comm.); [103.36]  
 ἀπλῶς adv. ΖΑΠΛΩΣ 102.22; 105.40; 116.10  
 ἀπόστολος ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ 127.21  
 ἀπόφασις ΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ 76.42  
 ἄρα (consequent) ΑΡΑ 122.35  
 ἄρα (interrogative) ΑΡΑ 84.10 ΑΡΕ 114.2  
 (ἀρνέισθαι) ρ-ΑΡΝΕ 90.27  
 (ἀρτάβη) see ΡΤΑΒ (“Native words”)  
 (ἀσπάζεσθαι) ΑΣΠΑΖΕ 128.26
- βάρβαρος ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑΣ 122.19
- γάρ ΓΑΡ 57.12; 71.23,25; 72.6; 75.23; 77.13; 78.20; 80.12; 83.11; 89.35,42;  
 90.12; 92.12; 99.28  
 γενεά ΓΕΝΕΑ 127.9; 128.22  
 (γίνομαι) μὴ γένοιτο *by no means, God forbid* ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ 92.11  
 γνήσιος ΓΝΗΣΙΟΣ 85.5
- δέ ΔΕ 58.29; 69.1; 70.31,38; 75.34; 79.15,42; 84.29; 85.4; 93.8,12; 94.34,39;  
 95.6; 96.36; 98.5,8; 103.6; 104.2; 110.25; 111.35; 112.14; 115.13,20,44;  
 116.16; 120.26 127.25; 128.30,32 ΤΕ 94.25; 82.12; 89.24
- δείγμα ΤΚΜΑ 58.16  
 διάβολος ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ 65.13  
 διάθεσις ΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΣ 85.4  
 διάκονος ΔΙΑΚΩΝ 72.36  
 διάστημα ΔΙΑΣΤΗΜΑ 128.28  
 (διστάζειν) ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ 106.7
- (ἐγχώριος) ἐγχωρία *possibility (?), custom (?)* ΕΓΧΟΡΙΑ 128.18,20  
 εἰ ΕΙ ΚΑΝ 92.23 ΕΙ ΜΕΝ 94.50; 122.24  
 εἰ μήτι ΕΙΜΗΤΙ 72.7; 79.34; 107.21  
 εἶδος *figure (?), item (?)* ΕΙΔΟΣ 70.24; 80.24; 81.48; 125.6  
 εἰρήνη ΕΙΡΗΝΗ 62.12  
 ΜΝΤ-ΤΑ(ῖ)-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ nn. f. *peace-making (character)* 90.13; 105.68  
 εἴτε ΕΙΤΕ . . . ΕΙΤΕ 63.35; 69.7; 70.8; 94.17; 105.52,59; 122.11/12  
 ἐκκλησία ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ 62.14; 73.17  
 ἐλπίς ΕΛΠΙΣ 81.45  
 ἐπειδή ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 115.16 ΕΠΙΔΗ 69.2; 72.9; 73.[7],15; 103.15; 107.14; 111.5,33  
 (ἐπιβουλή) pl. ΕΠΙΒΟΛΛΑΓΕ 65.12  
 (ἐπιγεμίζειν) ρ-ΕΠΙΓΕΜ̄ 111.43  
 (ἐπικαλεῖν) ΕΠΙΚΑΛΙ 126.19  
 ἐπίσκοπος ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ 128.34

ἐπιστολή **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ** 66.28; 75.21,24; 77.9,11; 80.33; 81.8; 84.38; 90.8; 91.2;  
93.14 105.80; 106.27; 108.24; 110.35,47; 120.13; 123.21; 128.15

pl. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΓΕ** [67.13]

εὐαγγέλιον **ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ** 98.21; 120.4

εὐεργέτης in **ΜΝΤ-ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ** *beneficence* 128.41/42

εὐκαιρία **ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ** 106.38

εὐχή **ΕΥΧΗ** 66.7

ἕως **ΖΕΩΣ** 82.34

ζιζουλά (cf. ζίζυφον) *jujube* **ΣΙΣΟΥΠΕ** 65.32

ἦ **Η** 58.3,17; 70.44; 78.35; 84.20; 92.32; 94.33; 105.27; 119.45

ἡλακάτη *distaff* **ΖΑΛΑΚΑΤΙ** 58.27

(θαρσεῖν / θαρρεῖν) *be confident* **ΘΑΡΡΕ** 122.10 **Ρ-ΘΑΡΕ** 81.14

(θαυμάζειν) *be astonished* **Ρ-ΘΑΥΜΑΖΕ** 75.19; 81.6 **Ρ-ΘΑΥΜΑΖΗ** 122.20

(θεραπεύειν) **ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ** 82.26

θώραξ **ΘΩΡΑΞ** 58.23

ἵνα **ΖΙΝΑΣ** 127.37

(ἰστάναι?) **ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ** 130.2 (unclear)

(καθαρός ἄρτος) (*fine*) *white bread* **ΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ** 122.33

(καθιέναι) **ΚΑΘΗ ΑΒΑΛ** 102.24

καὶ ταῦτα *although* **ΚΑΙΤΑΥΤΑ** 83.12 **ΕΒΕΤΑΥΤΕ** 76.24

καιρός **ΚΑΙΡΟΣ** 71.6; 99.44

κακῶς adv. **ΚΑΚΩΣ** 92.32

κάλαθος (*wicker band*) *basket* **ΚΑΛΑΤΟΥΣ** 78.43

κάλαμος *reed(s), reed-pipe* **ΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ** 79.20

(καλός in formula *καλῆ πίστει*) **ΚΑΛΗ ΠΙΣΤΙΣ** *in good faith* 92.18

καλῶς adv. **ΚΑΛΩΣ** 75.31; 82.33; 92.32

καῖν (protatic unconditional) *even if* **ΚΑΝ** 70.37; 92.13,23; 100.3

(apodotic) *at least* **ΚΑΝ** 116.6

καρύα / κάρυον *nut* **ΚΑΡΑΥ** 112.9 (comm.)

κατά **ΚΑΤΑ** 60.4; 61.5,12; 64.1,24; 65.30,47; 66.12; 70.34,45; 71.2,31; 72.32;

75.6; 76.4,44; 78.16; 79.37; 80.29,30,37; 84.4; 90.41; 93.25; 94.5,11; 96.29;

100.1; 102.19; 105.76; 112.19; 119.49; 122.14; 124.7; 128.43

(κλωστήρ) *thread, yarn* **ΚΛΩΣΤΡΑ** 111.36

κολλάριον (Latin *collarium*) **ΚΟΛΛΑΡΙΟΝ** 103.39

κόσμος **ΚΟΣΜΟΣ** 81.45

\*κοῦς see χοῦς

(λαβίς / λαβή) *trap* (?), *catch* (?) (always of fish, see comm. ad 76.31) **ΛΑΒΗΣ** 76.31;

78.43; 79.41; 109.34

- λάσιον *rough cloth* ΛΑΣΙΝ 103.23  
 λέσχη *gossip, scandal* ΛΕΣΧΗ 106.12  
 (λοιπόν / τὰ λοιπά) *remainder (or adv.)* ΛΟΙΠΕ 94.31  
 (λυπείσθαι) Ρ-ΛΥΠΗ 68.36; 70.34; 79.39; 81.10; 83.4; 124.10  
 λύπη f. ΛΥΠΗ 63.29; 80.11; 81.32; [105.23]
- μακάριος ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ 124.32; 128.33  
 μάλιστα adv. *most of all, especially* ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ 64.25; 71.3; 80.32; 81.9; 83.3;  
 84.8; 91.4; 94.5; 102.20; 122.15; 128.13  
 (μέλαν / μελάνιον) *ink* ΜΕΛΑ 79.41 ΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΝ 78.42  
 μέν ΜΕΝ 72.3; 76.16; 78.4; 85.3; 92.7; 93.14; 94.50; 95.7; 107.9; 111.28; 121.1;  
 122.24; 128.27  
 (μεριμνᾶν) (Ρ-)ΜΕΡ 81.20,39; 98.24; 103.38; 105.76; 120.28  
 μέρος *portion, share* ΜΕΡΟΣ 90.31,32; 103.33; 110.14  
 μετέωρος *haughty, proud* ΜΕΤΕΩΡΟΣ 128.19  
 μή ΜΗ (interrogative) 82.37; 122.31  
 in ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ 92.11  
 μήπως conjunction/adverb  
 ΜΗΠΩΣ + Conjunctive *lest* 61.21  
 ΜΗΠΩΣ + negated clause *never* 103.13  
 ΜΗΠΩΣ + Circumst. Aff. Perf. *perhaps* 106.11  
 μνᾶ (measure) ΜΝΑ 58.24,25; 81.47; 96.33,35; 103.8,34; 109.13,35 ΜΜΝΑ 75.8;  
 78.42,44; 79.32,38; 94.45; 95.6; [105.28] ΝΜΑ (here?) 108.25  
 μόνον adv. ΜΟΝΟΝ *just, only* (preceding imp.) 103.27; 105.68
- νεᾶνις *girl, female servant* ΝΕΑ f. 69.9  
 νομισμάτιον (coin) ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΟΝ m. 78.50 Ν° 130.4  
 νόμος *law* ΝΟΜΟΣ 77.16; 127.18  
 νοῦμμος (L. *nummus*) ΝΟΥΜΟΣ 79.24 ΝΟΥΜΙΣ 78.27 ΝΟΥΜΣ 110.9
- ξέστης (measure) ΞΕΣΤΗΣ 81.51
- ὀλοκοπτινος ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΙΝΟΣ 90.28,30,32,36,40,40,41; 109.30; 119.25  
 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΙ 105.27 ΖΟΛΟΓΟΤΙΝΟΣ 123.7 ΖΑΛΟΚΟΤΙΝΟΣ 109.20  
 ὅλως adv. ΟΛΩΣ 70.26,44  
 ὁμολογεῖν [Ρ-]ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙ 123.5  
 ὁμολογία *agreement* ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ f. 90.29,42  
 ὅμως *nevertheless* ΖΟΜΩΣ 84.13  
 ὅσον *while* ΖΟΣΟΝ 102.22  
 οὐδέ / οὔτε ΟΥΤΕ 58.29; 70.29; 84.7,7; 103.46; 105.19; 122.21  
 οὖν ΟΥΝ 64.3; 86.14; 103.43; 105.30  
 οὐσία *substance (of quarrel)* ΟΥΣΙΑ 90.25
- πάλιν (+ ΟΝ Σ) ΠΑΛΙΟΝ 128.17



- παρά **ΠΑΡΑ-** 105.9  
 with bare noun (for **ΚΑΤΑ-**?) 103.33  
 (πάς) **ΠΑΝΤΩΝ** (as modifier) 118.4  
 πάσχα **ΠΑΣΧΑ** m. 86.13  
 (πείθειν) **ΠΙΘΕ** 73.13; 119.63  
 (πείθεσθαι) **ΠΙΘΕ** 73.15,18; 78.24; 80.19; 105.55  
 (πειράζειν) **ΠΙΡΑΖΕ** 127.35  
 πειρασμός **ΠΙΡΕΣΜΟΣ** 71.8  
 πίστις (in formula καλή πίστει) **ΚΑΛΗ ΠΙΣΤΙΣ** *in good faith* 92.18  
 πλεκτή (twisted material) **ΠΛΕΤΙ** 75.11  
 πλήν **ΠΛΗΝ** 70.21  
 πνεῦμα **ΠΝΕΥΜΑ** [65.11]; 78.10; 89.6; 90.2 (π. = π-π.) 71.8  
**ΠΝΑ** 79.12; 105.2  
 πολιτεία **ΠΟΛΙΤΙΑ** 61.13  
 πραιπόσιτος (L. *praepositus*) **ΠΡΕΠΟΣΙ** 127.37  
 πράξις (in book title of Acts) **ΝΙΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ** 120.3  
 πρεσβύτερος **ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ** 61.2; 92.34; 124.1 **ΠΡ** 124.address  
 (προκοπή / προκόπτων) *progress* **ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΩΝ** 81.25  
 πρὸς **ΠΡΟΣ-** 96.35  
 πρόφασις **ΠΡΟΦΑΣΙΣ** 128.25  
 πῶς **ΠΩΣ** [60.6 comm.]; 70.16,25; 110.5
- (σησαμῆ / σήσαμον) (*cake made of?*) *sesame* **ΣΟΥΣΗΜΗ** f. 125.41  
 σκέμμα *problem, speculation* **ΣΚΑΜΜΑ** 105.30  
 σπουδή **ΣΠΟΥΔΗ** 58.32; 103.24  
 (στιχάριον) **ΣΤΙΧΑ** 75.14,41; 78.45; [96.18]  
 συντομία **ΣΥΝΤΟΜΙΑ** 107.17  
 σῶμα **ΣΩΜΑ** 63.15; 65.10; 71.7; 78.9; 80.14; 85.3; 97.12; 111.27; 115.5  
**ΣΩΜΕ** 90.8  
 σωτήρ **ΣΩΤΗΡ** 126.18
- τάχα *perhaps* **ΤΑΧΑ** 82.37; 103.39; 105.26; 115.34  
 (τάχα / ταχύς) ταχύ adv. *quickly* **ΤΑΧΥ** 78.46; 84.31; 106.15,17 **ΤΕΧΥ** 102.18  
 τετράς *quaternio* (?) **ΤΕΤΡΑΣ** 111.6,12  
 τιμή *price* **ΤΙΜΗ** 65.32; 81.18  
 τότε **ΤΟΤΕ** 105.40  
 τριβούνος (L. *tribunus*) **ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ** 118.8
- ὑποδιάκονος **ΖΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ** 124.40  
 ὑπόκρισις **ΖΥΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ** 128.24,40
- (φύσις) φύσει adv. **ΦΥΣΕΙ** 84.20

χαίρειν **ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ** 57.3; 60.2; 61.5; 62.5; [65.6]; 66.6; 67.3; 68.5; 70.3; 71.4;  
73.3; 76.5; 79.8; 81.4; 82.5; 92.6; 93.4; 97.4; 99.6; 105.6; 108.5; 111.4,18;  
112.5; 115.8; 122.4; 124.4; [128.3] **ΧΑΙΡΕ** 80.5

χαλκείον *caldrion* **ΧΑΛΚΥ** 81.51

(χαρίζεσθαι) **ΧΑΡΙΖΕ** 128.20

χάρτης *papyrus (sheet)* **ΧΑΡΤΗΣ** 78.17,40; 79.13

(χοῦς) (liquid measure) **ΚΟΥΣ** 70.17; 86.8; 122.18; 123.14,15

χρεία **ΧΡΕΙΑ** 86.9 **ΧΡΙΑ** 58.9,12; 90.26; 123.9

(verbal usage:) *be short of, need* **ΧΡΙΑ** 57.19; 92.30 **Ρ-ΧΡΙΑ** 67.58

χώρα **ΧΩΡΑ** 130.2

χωρίς **ΧΩΡΙΣ** 82.9; 90.9; 105.35

ψυχή **ΨΥΧΗ** 63.44; [65.12]; 71.7; 78.9; 79.11; 80.3; 85.2,7; 88.3; 89.5; 90.2;  
105.2; 107.8

ὦ (vocative) **Ω** 124.32

ὡς **ΩΣ** (+ circ.) 77.36; 127.35

### Greek words in Greek context

ἀγαπητός 106.address,1; 111.address; 123.1; 124.address

ἀδελφή 71.address; 75.address; 92.address; 95.1; 115.address; 116.address

ἀδελφός 59.address,1; 64.address (*bis*); 66.address (*bis*); 72.1; 73.address; 74.address;  
77.address,2; 80.address; 81.address; 82.address; 84.address (*bis*),1,2,41;  
86.address (*bis*); 88.address (*bis*); 94.1,2; 95.1; 97.address; 103.address (*bis*);  
105.address (*bis*); 106.address (*bis*),2,4; 111.address; 115.address; 116.address;  
118.1,1; 123.1

ἀπό 77.address

ἀποδίδωμι (in address: *deliver to*) ἀπ' 65.address; 67.address; 68.address; 71.address;  
76.address; 93.address (?); 99.address; 102.address; 109.address

δεσπότης 72.address,1; 79.address; 87.1; 110.address; 115.address

ἐγώ 59.address; 60.address; 66.address (*bis*); 71.address; 72.address,1; 75.address,44;  
77.1; 78.address,1; 79.address; 80.address; 81.address; 82.address; 84.address;  
84.1; 86.address; 87.1; 88.address; 89.address; 90.address; 92.address,40;  
94.1; 95.1; 99.address; 103.address,1; 105.address; 107.2; 110.address;  
113.address; 115.address; 116.address,21; 118.1; 123.address

εἰς 73.address

ἐν 72.2; 77.2; 78.3; 92.40; 123.4

εὐχομαι 65.49; 75.44; 84.39; 103.50; 107.32; 108.35; 112.20; 113.13; 116.20

θεός (in ἐν θεῶ) θῶ̄ 72.2

καί 61.address; 72.1; 78.address

κυρία 71.address; 75.address,44; 89.address; 92.address; 95.1

κύριος 59.address,1; 78.1; 80.address; 81.address; 84.41; 90.address; 94.1;  
99.address; 66.address; 77.address,1; 78.address; 82.address; 84.address,1;  
86.address; 88.address; 92.41; 103.address,1,51; 105.address; 113.address;  
116.address,21; 118.1; 123.address

κῶ̄ 77.2; 87.4; 123.4 κῶ̄ι 78.3

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ὁ 59.address,1; 60.address; 64.address; 66.address; 71.address; 72.address,1;  
73.address; 74.address; 77.1 (bis),2; 78.address,1; 79.address; 86.address;  
88.address; 89.address; 90.address (bis); 94.2; 95.1 (bis); 103.address,1;  
105.address; 106.address (bis),1,4; 107.1; 109.address; 110.address;  
111.address; 115.address (bis); 116.address; 118.1; 123.1

παρά 109.address

πατήρ 78.address,2; 79.address; 87.2; 90.address; 103.1,51

πολύς (πολλός) 65.49; 75.44; 84.40; 103.50; 107.33; 108.35; 112.20; 116.20

ῥώννυμι (ἐρρῶσθαι) 65.48; 75.43; 84.38; 92.39; 103.49; 107.31; 108.34; 112.20;  
113.13; 116.19

abbr. ερρ<sub>γ</sub> 58.20; 75.40; 82.40; 86.22; 102.21; 105.83 ερ<sub>γ</sub> 91.6; 94.61;  
95.18; 106.43

σύ 60.address; 64.address; 65.49; 66.address; 74.address; 75.44; 77.2; 84.39;  
88.address; 90.address; 103.50; 105.address; 107.32; 108.35; 112.20; 113.13;  
115.address; 116.address,19

συμβία 109.address (συν-)

τίμιος (τιμιώτατος) 60.address; 73.address; 78.address; 87.2; 107.1

υἱός 60.address; 90.address; 103.1; 107.1; 110.address

χαίρω (χαίρειν) 59.3; 72.2; 77.2; 78.3; 84.2; 87.4; 94.2; 95.1; 103.1; 107.3;  
118.2; 123.4

χρόνος 65.50; 75.44; 84.40; 103.51; 107.33; 108.35; 112.20; 116.21

ψυχή 77.1

## Personal names\*

- Ἀγαθήμερος 124.address,2  
**ΑΜΑ** see **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ, ΤΑΠΩΑΪ, ΤΑΤΟΥ**  
**ΑΜΜΩΝ** 115.31; 128.44 **ΑΜΜΩΝΙ** 118.7 (**Α**)**ΜΟΝΙ** 129.6  
**ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ** 65.4; 71.3; 73.4; 78.41; 79.6; 84.17; 86.22; 92.34; 96.34; 105.4;  
 111.28,40; 115.44; (118. frg, see "Preservation") **ΑΝΔΡΕΑΝΤΙ** 107.2  
**ΑΝΔΡΕΑ** 59.2; 88.address; 105.address  
**ΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ** 78.40; 79.22; 94.8  
**ΑΠΑ** see Βησᾶς, Λυσίμαχος, Ψεκε  
 (Ἀπόλλων) **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ** 81.28 **ΠΟΛΛΩΝ** 76.59; 83.10; 112.22  
 (Ἀσκλήπιος) **ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙ** 77.19  
 (Βελλῆς) **ΒΛΛΕ** 94.29; 118.6  
**ΒΗΣ** 71.33  
 Βησᾶς 123.3 (-ατος); 124.1  
**ΑΠΑ ΒΗΣΑΣ** 124.address  
**ΓΕΝΑ** 117.1 **ΙΕΝΑ** 80.38; 90.3; 91.1; 105.79; 118.5 **ΙΕΝΕ** 94.7  
**ΔΡΟΥΣΙΟΣ** 61.29  
**ΔΩΡΟΘΕΑ** 80.34  
 (Δωρόθεος) **ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ** 107.3  
**ΕΙΡΗΝΗ** 105.81  
**ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣ** 93.10  
 (Ζώσιμος) **ΖΩΣΙΜΕ** 80.33,38  
 (Ἡρακλῆς) **ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ** 58.22; [81.37 (? see comm.)]  
**ΘΑΡΡΗ** 58.18  
**ΘΕΟΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ** 70.5; 73.5; 78.13; 79.4; 83.2 **ΘΕΟΓΝΩΣΤΕ** 80.3,38  
**ΘΕΟΓΝΩΣ** 65.3; 73.20 **ΘΕΟΓΝΟΣ** 67.7  
 Θεόγνωστος 84.address,2 Θεογνώστῳ 72.2; 80.address; 81.address  
**ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ** : **ΑΜΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ** 80.34  
**ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ** 92.35; 93.22  
**ΙΕΝΑ** see **ΓΕΝΑ**  
 (Ἰέραξ) **ΙΕΡΞ** 113.7  
**ΙΟ** 66.36  
**ΙΑΝΟΥ** 94.8  
**ΙΗΣΟΥΣ** 61.10  
**ΙΜΟΥΘΗΣ** 129.9  
**ΙΣΙΩΝ** 80.18,20,28

\* Name forms in Greek script stand for occurrences in Greek context (mainly addresses).

**ΚΩΣΗΦ** 123.2

**ΚΑΜΗ** 95.2

Καπίτων : Καπιτωνι 77.address,[1] Καπιτος 109.address

**ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝ** 70.15; 72.25; 77.5,29; 82.17; 86.7; 116.11 **ΚΑΠΙΔΩΝ** 108.36

**ΚΑΠΙΤΟΥ** 65.31,37; 75.37; 81.7; 110.50 **ΚΕΠΙΤΟΥ** 88.6

**ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ** 92.35

**ΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΣ** 94.29

Κυρα 92.address **ΚΥΡΑ** 92.1; 93.13

(Κυρία) **ΒΟΥΡΙΑ** 68.30; 82.27

**ΚΥΡΙΛΛΑ** 93.19

**ΚΥΡΟΣ** 84.34

Λάμμων : Λαμμωνι 106.address,3

**ΛΑΜΜΩΝ** 72.30; 77.6; 78.44; 94.27; 116.13; 122.32 **ΛΑΜΩΝ** 65.47; 120.3

**ΛΑΜΟΥ** 99.54 see also Φιλλάμμων

**ΛΑΜΠΟΥ** 79.38 **ΛΑΜΠΕ** 89.14

(Λαύτινος) **ΛΑΥΤ** 58.6; 83.15

**ΛΟ** (probably short for Ταπολλῶς) 64.23; 65.43; 70.42,44; 88.15,26,29; 103.38; 108.36

**ΛΟΥΪΨΑΪ** 95.18; 81.2 **ΛΙΟΥΨΑΙ** 65.3 **ΛΩΪΨΑΪ** 82.address

Λουιωρος 123.3 (and cf. address)

**ΛΟΥΤΟΥ** 119.62

Λυσίμαχος : **ΑΠΑ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ** 82.38

**ΑΠΑ Λ'** 72.35 (see comm.)

**ΛΩΙΖΑΤ** 92.2; 93.20

**ΜΑΡΘΑ** 68.22; 89.13

**ΜΑΡΙΑ** 65.39; 66.21,42; 70.14; 71.26,27; 76.47; 77.35; 115.12,14,37; 116.12

**ΜΑΡΙΕ** 64.19

**ΜΑΣΙ** 122.3,27

**ΜΑΣΟΥΡ** 103.23

**ΝΟΕ** 71.22

**ΝΟΝΝΑ** 92.20; 98.25; 115.17,30

**ΝΟΣ** 89.40

**ΟΛΒΙΝΟΣ** 88.24; 111.8,15

Ουάλης [59.2]

**ΠΑΪΑΣ** 90.3

**ΠΑΚΟΥΣ** 77.12; 122.29,34,35

**ΠΑΜΟΥΝ** 102.3

Παμουρ(ις) : Παμουρ 64.address; 66.address; 67.address; 70.[address]; 72.address,2; 75.address; 120.address Παμουρι 110.address

**ΠΑΜΟΥΡ** 65.5; 66.4; 67.1; 69.1; 70.[3]; 71.1; 76.44,47; 77.13,35; 80.9; 82.31; 110.2,44

**ΠΑΝΤΩΝΙ 94.20**

**ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ 78.49; 79.38; 80.31; 91.3; 122.20**

**ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ 70.9; 71.2,28,32; 95.1; 117.3** **ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ 64.18**

Παρθενι 76.address; 102.address Παρθενει 71.address Παρθενε 75.address,[44]

see also **ΖΕΝΙ**

**ΠΑΤΥΣΕ 70.15**

**ΠΑΥΗΣΕ 78.29**

**ΠΕΒΟ 61.4; 66.8,10,25,45,46; 111.3; 120.15,28** **ΠΑΒΟ 111.34; 120.7**

(Πεβῶς) Πεβος 111.address Πεβο 61.address

**ΠΕΝΑ 89.12,33**

**ΠΕΔΩΥ 65.2,41,51; 66.3; 73.2; 75.1,41; 79.6; 80.9; 86.21; 103.address,5,7, 44;**

**108.3; 109.31** **ΠΑΔΩΥ 67.2,17,28,46; 68.24; 69.1; 76.address,1,45;**  
**82.30; 110.[2],6**

Πεκῦσις 74.address; 75.address; 77.address,2; 78.address,3 Πεκυσι 66.address

Πακυσι 67.address Πεκυσιος 79.address Πεκως 120.address

**ΠΙΕΝΑ 97.13; 105.[10],77; 115.12**

Πιενα 88.address; 89.address

**ΠΙΝΕ 73.18; 96.37; 105.5** **ΠΙΝΙ 83.4**

**ΠΙΩΑΪ 109.34**

(Πλουσίανος) **ΠΛΟΥΣΙΑΝΕ 67.29; 80.32,38; 92.26**

Πλουτογένης 85.address; 90.address

**ΠΛΟΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ 86.2; 87.3; 88.4; 89.8** **ΠΛΟΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ 89.18**

Πλουτογένιος : Πλουτογενιωι 61.address

**ΠΛΟΥΤΟΓΕΝΙΟΣ 61.3**

**ΠΑΝΕ 75.13**

**ΠΟΛΛΩΝ** see Ἀπόλλων

**ΠΟΤΤΗΣ (?) 110.48** (uncertain reading)

**ΠΩΑΪ 57.3; 62.22; 64.2,25,26,30; 65.2,28; 66.18,35; 67.7; 70.2,33; 71.17,19,31;**

**72.12,24,35; 73.2; 77.7,29; 78.47; 79.5,30,42; 80.29; 82.21; 85.7; 86.1;**

**92.33; 95.16; 96.27; 98.28; 99.14; 103.31; 105.5,32; 108.4,20; 111.2,17,26;**

**112.4; 114.3,7; 115.6; 118.5; 122.3**

Ψάις 74.address; 75.address; 78.14; 102.address; 105.address; 110.address

dat.: Ψάϊτι 59.2; 84.address,1; 86.address; 111.address; 116.address; (118. frg,

see "Preservation") Ψάϊω 64.address; 70.address; 72.address,1; 115.address

**ΠΩΑΜΠΕ (?) 127.30** (see comm.)

**ΠΩΜΝΟΥΤΕ** see Ψεμνούθης

**ΠΦΙΖΑΜ (?) 73.20**

**ΣΑΡΑΠΑ 122.3,27** **ΣΑΡΑΠΙ 122.15**

Σαραπάμμων (?): [Σαρα]παμμωνι 93.address

**ΣΑΡΗΝ 58.21**

**ΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ: ΠΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ 65.14** **ΠΣΑΡΤΑΝΑΣ 71.9**

**ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ 124.address**

Σύρος : Σύρωι [87.3]

COYRE 87.5; 90.39

ΤΑΒΗΣ 116.13

Ταβης 89.address,11

ΤΑΛΑΦΑΝΤΙ 58.19

ΤΑΛΟΥ 93.2

(Ταπολλῶς) see ΛΟ

ΤΑΠΩΑΪ 65.44,48; 67.34; 68.28,29; 85.9; 115.24

ΑΜΑ ΤΑΠΩΑΪ 80.35

Τεψαῖς 116.address

ΤΑΤΟΥ : ΑΜΑ ΤΑΤΟΥ 80.34

ΤΑΤΩΜ (thus?) 93.20

ΤΑΖΩΜ 109.21

ΤΑΖΩΡ 89.14

ΤΑΒΩΥΕ 64.22; 67.33; 75.38; 78.44,49; 83.2; 96.18; 120.31

ΤΕΒΩΥΕ 115.7

Τεκυσι 115.address (here?) ΤΕΒCOCIC (uncertain reading) 109.address

Τεκῦσις see ΤΑΒΩΥΕ

Τεψαῖς see ΤΑΠΩΑΪ

(Τιβέριος) ΤΙΒΕΡΙ 76.41

ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ 90.5,10; 92.address,2

ΤΙΜΟΘΕ 93.11,[frg]

†ΤΟΥΕ 70.43; 72.31; 77.14,17; 116.13

ΤΙΩΛΑ (uncertain, possibly toponym) 89.41

ΤΝΑΖΤΕ 94.37

(Τρυφάνης) ΤΡΟΥΦΑΝΗ 78.36

ΤΩΝΙ 112.21 ΤΩΝΕ 78.41

ΤΩΝΒΗΣ 115.39

Φιλάμμων 80.address; 81.address; 82.address

ΦΙΛΑΜΜΩΝ 64.28,32; 65.45; 73.24; 77.28; 78.23; 79.44; 80.4,39; 81.3; 82.4;

88.18; 108.33; 114.1; 122.35 ΦΙΛΑΜΜΟΝ 89.27 ΦΙΛΑΜΟΥ 66.42

see also Λάμμων

ΦΙΛΑΣ 67.28 (to former? see comm. ad loc.)

ΧΑΡΗΣ 64.23; 66.46; 67.22; 70.26; 76.32,44; 102.20; 122.34 ΧΑΡΙC 105.67

(Χριστός) ΠΕΧῚΡC 61.10

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ΨΕΚΕ 90.4 ΨΕΒΕ 129.1

ΑΠΑ ΨΕΚΕ 90.44

Ψεκῆς 90.address

Ψεμνούθης 120.25

ΠΩΜΝΟΥΤΕ 66.43

Ἔσρος : Ἐρωι 78.address,2; 79.address

ζωρ 72.35; 76.3; 79.4,45; 80.7; 81.6,10; 82.11,29; 84.8; 89.19,22; 91.1; 94.6;  
105.10,77; 111.41; 115.12; 118.5; 124.40

ψαῖ 67.34; 76.26; 77.22; 78.35; 82.3,11; 89.28; 94.37; 106.37,43; 110.50;  
128.address

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see also ψαῖ

ψανωνα (?) 89.44 (uncertain reading)

(ψενουτε ?) ψαινοτα 89.25 ψεννου 89.39 ψινουτε 89.10

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χμψω 89.15

(χναπολλω) : χῆναπῆλλο 64.32 σεναπολλω 117.1

βογρια see Κυρία

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(Κέλλις) Κέλλιν 73.address

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κημε Egypt 68.10; 69.3; 72.19; 81.17,18,26,54; 82.18,36; 90.7,39,43; 105.67,68;  
109.24 111.33 115.26 116.9; 122.12

μαρhc Upper Egypt see s.v. ρhc

(Μῶθις μοοτ) : ρmm-μοτ 94.30

μωνω (unclear) in ρmm-μωνω 75.34

ογαζε Oasis see "Native words"



ΠΕΙΑΥΝΕ (uncertain toponym) 77.14,17 (sim. :) ΠΕΟΥΑΥΝΕ 110.50

ΡΟΖΑ (uncertain) 115.32

CΙΑΥΤ : ΡΜΝ-CΙΑΥΤ 81.28

ΤΑΝΑΪΕΤΟΥ : ΡΜ-ΤΑΝΑΪΕΤΟΥ 72.35

ΤΙΩΛΑ (uncertain, possibly personal) 89.41

(Τριμίθις ΤΡΙΜΪΤΕ) : ΤΡΙΜΙ<sup>T</sup> 125.4

### Conjugations\*

#### First Present

†- 57.7,12,19; 58.14; 60.3,5; 61.16,29; 62.6,7; 64.18; 65.28,29,39,41,47;  
66.16,21,36; 67.4,6,7,18,25,26,31,50,56; 68.8,9,12; 69.4; 70.10,25,34,43,  
44,45; 71.2,3,4,12,29,39; 72.3,4,28,33; 73.2,4,5,6,15,24; 75.2,4,19,41;  
76.6,7,34,44,45,47,63; 77.3; 78.5,5,6,49; 79.9,12,39; 80.4,6,7,38; 81.5,6,  
23,33; 82.6,10,14,26,28,30,35,36,41; 83.2; 84.3,5,14,27; 86.3,4,5,18;  
89.10,17,41; 90.12,28,43; 91.1; 92.8,36; 93.5,22; 94.3,50; 97.5; 99.7,28,32;  
102.1,22; 103.2,3,5,46; 105.7,43,46; 106.5; 107.4,16; 108.6,36; 110.5,35,50;  
111.3,19,41; 112.4,17; 114.1; 115.9; 116.4,12,13; 118.2; 120.1; 122.19,20;  
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τε- 83.12; 92.31

ϕ- 58.23; 71.30; 72.31; 80.19; 81.15,23; 82.32,33,33; 92.18,19; 93.9; 116.6,8,9

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124.5,6,11,21; 127.30 Ν- 111.8

τετν- 58.19,30; 70.21; 72.9,17; 75.37; 78.37; 81.12; 83.4; 90.24,29; 94.11

се- 67.45; 76.24; 79.16,18; 92.21 соу- 61.28

#### First Future

†να- 58.6,7,13; 70.24; 71.19,34; 72.10,22; 73.11; 76.20,25,38,46; 78.31,34;  
79.14,20,33,38; 84.32; 90.30,31; 92.25; 94.23; 95.5,5; 103.41; 107.11;  
109.14,34; 110.33; 111.39; 122.22,26; 124.37; 128.46 τνα- 71.15,29

κνα- 73.13; 103.14

κα- 90.8; 102.11

ϕνα- 73.21,21,25; 90.34; 94.52

\* (c) after reference means: ε of a relative form in coalescence with copular Πε.

ca- 78.42

тнна- 84.25; 94.30

тетна- 58.9,15,17,28,29; 71.23; 73.18; 110.48

сена- 79.27; 94.22,46,54; 122.31; 126.13; 128.36

Circumstantial Present: ере- 84.16

ε̄: еі 66.4,9,42; 67.15; 70.20; 72.8,9; 76.46; 80.18,23; 81.3; 82.35; 97.6;  
102.12,23; 105.25,82; 107.24; 108.7; 110.8,18; 112.6; 115.4,36 еei 61.6;  
79.12,16; 128.32,47 ек 58.3; 65.51,51; 67.30; 72.13,20; 78.7,23; 79.11;  
80.24; 94.55,58; 106.33 111.32,38; 124.36; 128.46 ете 92.30 еq  
69.5; 75.39; 76.12; 78.45; 82.4,17,19; 83.8,10; 93.17; 105.32; 106.28;  
115.40; 116.2,7; 121.2; 124.24,25,28; 128.14 ес 71.26,28; 72.19; 84.29;  
93.3 ен 83.8; 124.23 ететн 64.14,31; 65.10,10,11; 94.59; 110.19  
етн 66.29 еретн 71.6,7 еу 58.16,18; 66.45; 77.36; 78.19; 79.19;  
85.3; 105.55; 109.18

ᾱ: αі 89.2,17 аei 61.6 аq 122.28 аn 122.4 атетн 89.36  
аретн 61.11; 71.7,8 ататн 122.9

Second Present:

ε̄: еі 72.10; 81.14; 82.7; 90.27; 91.1; 92.7; 116.2 еq 69.5; 73.15; 77.18;  
81.12 ес 84.9; 119.51 ен 64.8; 83.6 еретн 71.22 еу 94.15  
(аре-): ара- 122.29 а- 78.35  
ᾱ: аei 61.9; 122.30 ас 90.31,33; 105.67; 122.32 аn 78.47; 122.10,12  
ароу 78.19

Converted Future forms

Circumstantial: екна- 103.21 еqна- 58.21; 110.31 ететна- 75.28  
еуна- 116.8,14

Focalising or promise: еіна- 81.15; 94.51 еeina- 79.26 аіна- 115.35  
еqна- 58.26 ена- 79.35; 82.37,39 енна- 83.6 еуна- 127.11

Modal (optative): е- 78.44 еqна- 80.19; 81.46

Forms following χ(ε) or χεκαс: еіна- 64.27 еeina- 123.11 екна-  
80.36; 111.38 ека- 57.13; 86.6 еqна- 61.10; 67.5; 78.7; [91.1];  
110.29 еqа- 70.32; 76.7; 109.7 аqна- 122.8 ена- 61.21; 73.23  
ететна- 65.8; 71.5 етна- 73.16 еретна- 111.43 еуна-  
127.36

Relative Present: етере- 79.2; 85.2; 88.9; 105.3; 126.16 ете- 93.1; 112.2;  
115.2

ет(ε)̄: е† 63.5; 67.58; 80.2; 81.14; 94.19; 105.81; 115.44 етк 105.63  
етек 58.7 ететн 58.32; 64.11,16 ататн 122.11 етоу 78.34  
ет- (rectus): with infinitive: 64.15(c),20(c),20; 67.1(c); 69.1(c); 71.26(c),28(c);  
72.8,11; 75.33,38(c); 76.1(c),1,10; 79.7(c),7; 80.10(c); 81.3(c),49(c); 82.4(c);  
83.5(c); 84.9; 89.8(c); 90.4(c); 93.3(c); 94.18(c),32(c); 98.10(c); 105.79(c);

107.7,15; 108.4(c); 111.15(c); 115.7(c); 124.3(c),28(c); 128.21,22,48,49  
 T- 117.2; 122.27

with stative: 57.1; 65.1; 66.1,26(c); 70.2; 71.1; 72.6; 73.1,23; 76.2,37; 79.1;  
 80.12(c),27,36; 81.1; 82.1,2; 85.1,3,6; 86.5; 89.3; 90.1; 103.16; 105.1,11;  
 107.6; 110.1 111.1,16; 112.1; 115.2; 123.25,26; 128.27 εθ (= ετ-2...)  
 122.1

with locative: 58.5; 60.4; 61.1,29; 69.7; 79.22,25,29; 80.11,32; 82.2,10; 83.3,10;  
 90.32; 93.21; 102.7,17; 103.3; 107.10; 110.20,21,34,44; 112.19; 120.2;  
 124.6,8; 126.13; 128.29,42 εθ (= ετ-2...) 65.29; 105.75; 118.4

Relative Future : ετερε-... να- 110.48; 116.10 εταρα-... να- 122.16  
 ε†να- 80.7(c); 81.50 ετκνα- 103.26 ετετνα- 58.10  
 ετνα- (rectus) 58.24; 75.29; 80.22; 84.37; 103.32(c); 110.47

Imperfect : νε- 106.6 νεϊ 115.25 νετετн 64.14 να̇ : ναс 84.10

Relative: етенеpe- 116.4 етенек 115.21

Future Imperfect : νεϊνα- 110.27 νεεϊνα- 128.16

Affirmative Perfect, base α-

α- 64.29; 65.34; 71.19,29; 73.7,8; 77.13; 80.13,14,15; 84.33; 92.13; 94.37;  
 105.67; 106.18; 110.13; 115.17,27

α̇ : αι̇ 57.5; 58.16; 64.4,27; 66.9; 69.3; 70.16; 71.20,25,32,33; 72.15,22,34;  
 73.13,13,25; 75.17; 76.44; 77.9,9,9,33; 78.23,24; 80.16,18; 81.10,17; 82.16;  
 83.4; 84.11; 87.6; 88.23; 90.10,27; 92.17,27; 94.26,37,38,43,45; 95.4,15;  
 96.34; 97.39; 102.11; 103.15; 105.19,25; 108.20,21; 111.7; 115.18,31,33;  
 119.52,53,53 αει 65.35; 79.28,31 ακ 66.13; 67.20; 70.37; 72.26;  
 77.18; 79.30,31,42; 82.36; 113.5 αq 64.13; 65.31; 69.3; 71.18; 73.9,12;  
 80.20; 81.9,19,26,26,27,28,29,35,35,42,54; 91.2; 92.27; 94.39; 102.4,7,9;  
 108.23,26,27; 115.27; 118.7 128.26 ас 73.8; 90.39,40,40; 93.18; 116.19  
 аn 64.32; 80.13; 89.29; 90.5; 105.30; 119.27 атетн 64.5 атн  
 77.21 аγ 66.26; 77.14,15; 92.17; 94.51 (here?); 95.7; 105.18; 107.14;  
 115.18,30; 127.22

Circumstantial: εα- 95.7; 106.12 εαι̇ 90.36 εак 127.8 εaq 71.17  
 εaγ 65.35

Relative: ετα- 66.25; 91.2; 92.10; 96.21

ετα̇ : εταї 64.1; 69.10; 71.11; 72.13; 76.17; 83.9; 95.3; 111.13,21,22  
 εтак 69.11; 79.25; 106.24; 107.18; 115.32; 119.26 εтаpe 71.10  
 εта 66.25; 92.10; 96.21 εтаq 76.14; 80.31,33; 81.17,41; 102.7  
 εтан 116.9 εтатетн 58.1; 64.10; 90.6(c),29 ететн 71.25  
 εтаγ 103.47

(Sah.): ентаq 128.19 ентаγ 127.35

Second Perfect: нта- 64.7; 92.16 нта̇ : нтаї 92.9; 95.6; 103.11;  
 105.39,80; 115.16 нтак 128.15 нтаq 86.10; 116.11; 128.35  
 нтаγ 70.39 таγ 71.24

χнта- 90.39 χнта̇ : χнтаї 77.11; 90.37 χнтак 106.10 χнтн  
 129.12

## Affirmative Perfect, base ρα-, ραϛ

ρα- 58.6; 75.42; 76.41; 81.7; 89.33; 111.33; 130.1

ραϛ: ραι 58.4,5; 107.24; 111.5,7,28; 120.30 ρακ 76.22; 78.16,27; 112.8

ραν 89.32; 122.7 ρατη 58.2; 72.16,17; 76.21; 89.30 ρατετη  
65.24 ραυ 103.7; 120.24

Circumstantial: ερα- 95.11

Relative: ερα 71.33 ερα 95.9; 102.5 (all 2nd fem.) ερατη 110.17

## Affirmative Perfect, base ρα-, ρ(α)ϛ

ρ(α)ϛ: ρι 70.40; 75.33,35; 76.12,12,26,32; 78.18,47; 79.23; 82.20,24,38;  
110.11,24; 114.4; 122.30; 123.6 ρκ 122.21 ρν 110.12,15,20 ρατη  
110.29

Circumstantial: αρα- 70.31 (circ.?) ερι 76.24 - εροу 70.35

Relative: ερι 76.23 ρι 75.27,41

(ϛνηρ): ϛνηκ 122.20

## Negative Perfect

мπε- 90.12; 94.35; 105.24,28

мп(ε)ϛ: мпи 58.8,28; 77.11,19; 81.54; 82.12,15; 83.13; 91.3; 92.29;  
102.10,10; 105.16,20,32; 106.8; 115.19 мпк 77.17; 81.8; 83.11; 94.14,14

мπεк 65.32; 78.22; 124.21 мпе 66.27; 75.43 мпϛ 81.19,25,41;  
83.11; 94.20,40; 102.5 мπεϛ 58.31; 76.15; 78.30 мпн 78.24

мпен 76.35 мпетн 60.6; 67.19; 70.18,44; 76.53; 77.13,20; 78.40;  
81.11; 82.23; 84.6,14; 89.44; 90.9; 103.4 мпоу 57.11; 70.41; 76.23;  
94.42; 95.17; 102.12

нп(ε)ϛ: нпк 122.21,22

па- 122.34

п(ε)ϛ: петн <58.30>

Circumstantial:

εмπε- 91.4

εмп(ε)ϛ: εмпи 79.14; 94.16,41 εмпк 99.54; 106.14; 120.13 εмπεк  
64.30; 80.20; 105.68 εмпе (2nd fem.) 116.5 εмπεϛ 84.35

εмпоу 72.20

αмп(ε)ϛ: αмпк 120.22

Relative:

ετεмп(ε)ϛ: εтемпн 79.15 εтемпе (2nd fem.) 75.20 εтмпϛ 110.44  
εтемпн 82.41

Focalising (?): ερε̅мпи 103.10

## Affirmative Completive, see s.v. οуω

## Negative Completive

мпат(ε)ϛ: мпатеϛ 94.48 мпатоу 76.63

Circumstantial: εмпате- 116.7

## Affirmative Aorist

ωаре- 76.18; 124.29

ωαϝ: ωακ 90.14; 99.13

ωαρ(ε)ϝ: ωαρεκ 110.6 ωαρεφ 126.10

Circumstantial:

εωαϝ: εωας 90.34 εωαγ 63.18; 128.34

Relative:

ετεωα(ρε)-: ετεωα- 58.18

ετωα(ρε)-: ετωαϊ 75.23 ετωαφ 81.49 ετωαν 81.52

εωαρ(ε)ϝ: εωαρϊ 75.25(c)

Preterite:

νεωαϝ: νεωαϊ 92.23

Negative Aorist

μαϝ: μαφ 122.28 μαс 58.34 मान 65.34

Negative Energetic Future

нνε- 127.37

нн(ε)ϝ: ннек 103.12,22 нне 63.13 ннеγ 91.4 нноγ 106.41

νεϝ: ни 64.7 неτн 61.15

Negative Imperative

μπωρ- 57.18; 64.30; 79.39; 80.23; 111.14

μπρ- 63.19; 70.36; 72.14,15; 76.52; 78.40,46; 79.39; 80.20; 82.37; 92.9;  
99.54; 103.18,27,44; 104.2; 105.15,68; 106.13,20,26; 110.9,16,44,47;  
111.24,36; 113.2,9; 115.14,15,20,22,33; 116.5,14; 120.21; 121.5 мπερ-  
127.31 епр- 82.11

μн- 95.14

Affirmative Causative Imperative

μαρε- 70.22; 78.49; 82.21; 84.21; 120.31

μαρ(ε)ϝ: μαρϊ 102.9 μαρφ 108.37 μαρεφ 81.22,30,39; 82.23  
μαρс 76.37 μαρογ 71.13; 76.50; 77.24; 90.42

Negative Causative Imperative

μнτρε- 63.22; 83.7

μнτρεϝ: мнтрек 78.17; 94.57 мнтреφ 83.13; 103.42 мнтретн  
110.23 мнтраτн 122.30,31

μπωρτε- 64.3

Causative Infinitive

τρε- 102.23; 128.35

τρ(ε)ϝ (99.49): τρα 81.16; 99.24; 114.6 τρι 71.34; 79.35; 81.41; 94.59;  
97.10 τρεϊ 131.6 трек 106.23 τρεφ 76.20; 79.9; 84.18; 86.16;  
94.38 трес 105.42 τρн 59.8 трен 128.26 τρογ 58.22; 110.24

τ(ε)ϝ: та 58.9,10,34 тн 76.52; 107.21

Conjunctive

нте- 82.8; 83.14; {90.27}; 97.12; 103.33; 115.5

pronominal with N-: ΝΤΑ 58.23; 71.13; 73.10; 79.34; 126.33 ΝΓ 131.11  
 ΝΚ 71.21; 72.18,22,34; 76.50; 80.37; 81.43,53; 111.30,31,37; 115.41 ΝΤΕ  
 66.40; 76.36; 90.45; 95.10; 102.15; 109.28 Νϣ 73.9,19; 105.64,64;  
 109.12,21; 111.44; 115.44; <126.11> ΝϚ 95.12,12 ΝΤΝ 68.32  
 ΝΤΕΤΝ 58.12,17; 61.14,22; 66.46; 71.23,35; 77.36; 79.36; 96.29 ΝϞΕ  
 <90.27>; 98.3

(for ΤΕ-) ΤΑ- 78.11

pronominal without N-: ΤΑ 58.22; 64.12,17; 73.14; 79.44; 81.47; 84.31,32;  
 90.32; 102.23; 103.19; 105.45; 122.26; 126.18,33 † 71.15; 76.30; 81.55;  
 94.60,60; 102.23,24; 105.26; 115.34 Κ 78.29; 81.47,48,54; 82.34; 86.14;  
 90.11; 94.46,58; 103.16,20,29; 106.17,34,35,35; 113.5; 120.10,27,27,33  
 ΤΕ 75.16,41; 102.18; 116.5,10 ϣ 81.22; 83.5; 84.19; 103.39,42 Ϛ  
 76.29,38; 78.50 ΤΝ 64.30; 77.25; 79.17; 83.6; 90.7; 91.6; 94.31;  
 103.17,37; 116.17; 118.6 ΤΕΤΝ 72.16; 78.45,45; 82.22,22,24 ϞΕ 104.3

#### Causative (or Future) Conjunctive

ΤΑΡΕ- 120.3

ΤΑΡ(Ε)ϣ: ΤΑΡϣ 105.76 ΤΑΡΕϣ 103.23 ΤΑΡΝ 80.26; 84.26; 94.56  
 ΤΑΡΕΝ 80.21

#### Temporal

ΝΤΑΡΕ- 83.4; 90.5; 102.3

ΝΤΑΡ(Ε)ϣ: ΝΤΑΡΙ 66.7; 78.22 ΝΤΑΡΕϣ 83.15

#### Limitative

ϠΑΝΤ(Ε)ϣ: ϠΑΝΤΤΑ (1st sing.) 90.36 ϠΑΝΤΚ 111.38

ϠΑΤΕ- 72.12; 83.7

ϠΑΤ(Ε)ϣ: ϠΑ† 78.10; 95.14; 103.28; 105.40; 120.12 ϠΑΤΕ (1st sing)  
 58.28 ϠΑΤΕΚ 57.12 ϠΑΤϣ 108.29 ϠΑΤΕϣ 82.25 ϠΑΤϚ  
 111.25 ϠΑΤΝ 103.36; [109.8 comm.] ϠΑΤΟΥ 78.25; 79.18; 103.17,19

#### Conditional

ΕϠΑΝΤΕ- 71.22 ΕϠΑΝΤΑ- 122.25 ΕϠΑΤΕ- 71.14; 82.17; 106.38  
 ΕΡϠΑ- 70.43

2nd fem.: ΕϠΑΝΤΑ 71.14 2nd pl.: ΕϠΑΤΕΤΝ 66.38; 91.5; 105.44

Εϣ ϠΑ(Ν)-: ΕΙϠΑΝ 71.37; 78.31 ΕΙϠΑ 71.11; 107.8 ΕΚϠΑΝ 106.32;  
 120.26 ΕΚϠΑ 81.50 ΕϣϠΑ 93.7 ΕΝϠΑ 84.23 ΕϣϠΑ 94.23

#### Conditional without -ϠΑΝ-

Εϣ: ΕΙ 69.8 ΕΚ 72.28; 76.27,28; 101.3 Εϣ 130.3 ΕΤΕΤΝ 67.60  
 ΕΡΟΥ 71.13

Α- 77.15

#### Apodotic

Εϣ: Εϣ 130.3

## Triadic pronominals (PTN)

## Demonstr. pronoun

**πεῖ** 70.20; 103.15,47; 105.41; 115.35  
**τεῖ** 77.12; 103.19,25  
**νεῖ** 64.6; 65.36; 66.26; 72.13; 76.35; 77.24; 79.12; 111.9  
 (Sah.·) **παῖ** 128.21 **ναῖ** 128.46

## Demonstr. article

**πι-** 58.13,15,25; 61.11; 66.23; 70.35; 75.8,41; 78.25,28; 79.41,41; 80.31;  
 81.51,52,52,53; 84.28; 86.17; 90.41; 92.28; 94.29,33,56; 95.9; 97.9; 99.27;  
 102.14; 105.18; 109.15,20,30; 111.25; 120.2,17 **πει-** 73.17  
**†-** 64.31; 66.44,45; 70.18,30; 78.41; 80.25; 84.38; 88.20; 89.37; 91.2; 96.36;  
 105.80; 109.32; 110.47,49; 120.13; 122.28,32; 130.2  
**νι-** 58.21,21; 65.34; 69.9; 71.24; 73.11; 75.20; 76.41; 77.16,30; 78.37;  
 82.13,41; 83.3; 84.3,18; 94.4; 102.2,19; 105.44,77; 108.30; 111.10,44;  
 114.2; 120.3,18; 122.22,25 **νει-** 72.11  
 see also *s.v.* **μα**  
 (Sah.·) **πι-** 123.7,13  
**τεει-** 128.25 **†-** 123.21  
**νει-** 127.22 **νι-** 125.5,6,14,32,36,38,39,40,43; 128.18

## Subject pronoun (copular)

**πε** 63.31; 67.30; 78.33; 84.35; 90.35; 92.12; 97.10; 107.22; 115.29,35;  
 126.22,23; 127.20  
**τε** 73.7; 86.9; 92.14,14; 94.15; 103.25; 106.24; 115.28  
**νε** 58.21; 71.24; 72.13; 73.12; 120.11

## (in Cleft Sentence:)

**πε** 64.15,20; 67.1; 69.1; 75.38; 76.1,10; 79.7; 80.7,10,12; 81.3,49; 82.4; 83.5;  
 89.8; 90.4,6; 94.18,32; 98.10; 103.32; 105.38,79; 108.4; 111.15; 124.3,28  
**τε** 71.26,28; 93.3; 115.7  
**νε** 66.26; 75.25; 121.1

## Definite article

**πι-** 57.3,17; 58.5,16,27,28; 60.2,4; 61.1,5,8; 63.15,22,30; 64.2; 65.6,8; 66.5,32;  
 67.4,46; 70.1,17,24,29,31,38,38; 71.3,4,5,5,7,8,9,9,15,17,20,21,21,22,30,36,37;  
 72.4,4,7,8,14,17,26,29,33,33,36; 73.3,7,14,16,18,23,23; 75.2,26,34,42,42,43;  
 76.7,53; 77.7,10,11,22,28; 78.6,14,32,33,35,40,40,47,50; 79.7,8,9,13,20,  
 21,27,28,38,42; 80.5,8,9,10,15,22,30,38,39; 81.4,27,28,30,42,45,48,49,53;  
 82.2,5,7,13,15,16,19,25,41; 83.2,3,5,5,5,7,7,10,10,15; 84.10,21,24,27,33,34;  
 85.3; 86.3,8,8,13,21; 89.4,5,6,44; 90.1,4,8,15,30,32,32,33,39,40; 91.1,2,5;  
 92.6,14,15,28,34,38; 93.4; 94.18,19,21,25,34,36,45,58; 95.6,6,9,10,11,11,15;  
 96.23,33,35; 97.8,10; 98.22; 99.3,6,21,22,39,44,50; 102.4,7,13,18,22,23,23;

103.23,34,39; 105.6,17,20,21,21,27,32,35,42,45,79; 106.15,19,20,33,37,43;  
 107.11,15,16,18,22; 108.21; 109.33; 110.7,9,10,13,22,25,25,26,30,30,44;  
 111.4,17,22; 112.6,21; 114.2,7; 115.5,8,17,27; 116.2,6,9,10,15; 118.6,8;  
 119.25; 120.4,6,15,15,23,23,25,28,29,32,35 122.1,4,7,16,19,29; 123.15,23;  
 124.4,26,28,32,39,40,42; 125.45; 126.17,20,25,29,30; 127.14,31 128.18,26,  
 29,33,34,48,48; 131.5,6,10

(preceding Ϙ...) ϕ 77.20; 82.23; 92.24; 126.12; 128.33

πε- 110.48; 127.37

see also εΙΤΝε, ΜΕΥε, ΝΕΥ hour, ΤΗΡ

τ- 58.30,32,35; 61.7; 63.29; 64.9; 65.12,32; 66.7; 67.17; 68.46; 69.9; 70.23;  
 71.5,7,34,36; 72.4,6,35; 73.17,22; 76.44; 77.4,15,19; 78.38;  
 79.19,29,31,43,44; 80.11,14; 81.27,51; 82.9,16,18; 84.8; 85.4,4,8; 90.29;  
 94.34,37,43; 96.28; 99.22; 102.20; 103.8,34; 105.20,76; 107.29; 111.6,36;  
 112.9; 113.8; 114.4; 115.26,31; 116.5,8,15,21; 122.35; 125.41,42,44;  
 127.9,20

(preceding Ϙ...) ϑ 62.16; 73.7; 81.16; 94.16; 96.34; 106.24; 107.11;  
 113.7; 115.19,34,44; 116.14; 123;17; see also Ϙε, Ϙη

(Sah.) τε- 123.8; 127.2,35

ν- 58.5,12,19,23,29; 61.1,28; 64.4; 65.12,25,32; 69.7; 71.8,9,18; 72.13;  
 76.18,23; 78.17; 79.13,25,28; 80.15,26,30; 81.41; 82.21; 84.4,5; 85.5,5,6;  
 90.12; 92.10,19,28,33; 94.13,51; 95.9; 103.17; 106.18,40; 110.9,15; 111.20;  
 114.4; 115.17,29; 116.4,8; 118.4; 120.10; 125.1; 127.31; 130.1 Μ-  
 61.2; 85.5 ΝΝ- 65.14

#### Determiner preceding relative

π- 58.7; 63.17; 64.9,11; 69.7; 75.29,33; 79.2,22,25; 80.2,33; 81.14; 84.37;  
 103.16; 105.63; 107.7; 110.44,48; 115.2,32; 126.16,27; 128.27

see also πετ- (invariable) s.v. Ϙαυ

τ- 58.1; 63.5; 93.1; 105.81; 110.21; 122.6,16

ν- 58.18; 60.4; 65.29; 66.25; 71.11,33; 72.11; 80.27,32; 83.3; 85.2,3; 93.21;  
 94.19; 105.3,31,75; 107.10; 110.20; 112.19; 124.6,8; 128.42,49

#### Possessive pronoun

πα- 122.1,35

τα- 92.14

να- 66.33; 67.42; 72.35; 75.41; 94.24 νε- 58.21; 94.24

πω: πωī 64.29 πω 92.24 πων 64.9

τω: τωī 92.13

#### Possessive article

π(ε): πα- 57.1; 60.3; 63.6,51; 64.7,25,25,26,27,30,32; 65.1,1,3,4,28,37,41;  
 66.2,8,17,35,39,42,43; 67.2,6,7,17,34,40; 68.7,8,8; 69.2; 70.1,11,12,15,  
 33,33,45; 71.3,12,17,21,31; 72.6,12,23,24,30,31,35; 73.1,5,6,13,24,24; 75.41;  
 76.2,25,39,44; 77.5,6,36; 78.11,13,14,47; 79.1,1,3,4,5,5,30,42; 80.1,1,1,2,7,11,  
 15,17,17,19,23,29,38,38; 81.1,1,6,10,32,38,46,49; 82.1,3,8,11,21,29,30; 83.12;



- 86.1,1,6,6,14; 88.1,1,4; 89.2,2,6,7,18,24,26,28,39; 90.2,2,3,3,39; 91.2; 92.12; 93.5,10; 94.3,6,7,8; 97.12; 98.28; 99.1,4,54; 103.5,6; 105.2,39,77; 106.6; 107.10,30; 108.1,1; 111.1,16,26,34,40; 112.1,14; 114.1,5; 115.1,1,5,6,20, 20,22,33,42,43,44,44; 116.11,13,16; 118.3,3; 122.1,1,2,15,17,20,30; 123.16 126.21,31 πεκ- 60.1; 66.3; 76.45; 78.8,10; 79.11; 80.4; 82.34; 108.4; 111.3,39; 126.7,24; 128.45 πκ- 62.8; 77.10,32; 81.50; 105.60; 122.7,21 πε- 63.20; 92.11,22; 93.11; 115.14; 116.6; 123.23 πεϕ- 65.47; 66.16; 79.2,45,45; 80.38; 82.33; 89.9; 90.31; 123.10; [124.3]; 126.16; 127.30 πϕ- 58.30; 69.8; 78.44; 84.35; 110.14,21; 112.2; 115.3; 116.7; 126.11 πς- 88.10; 93.1; 105.81 πς- 68.47; 72.36; 73.11; 82.28; 103.18 πεν- 124.address,39 πν- 58.21; 66.33; 67.42; 68.38; 69.6; 73.20,20; 80.28,31; 83.6; 84.17; 90.5; 92.26; 103.2,38 πετν- 61.9; 62.15; 72.4; 79.6; 83.5; 89.44; 90.7; 97.7; 105.5,8,41; 122.13,24 πεϒ- 105.62; 128.23 ποϒ- 58.17,24; 64.24; 65.30; 66.13; 69.10; 70.34,45; 71.2; 75.7; 76.4,44; 78.16; 80.26,29,30; 85.2; 96.29; 105.3,75; 121.5; 122.14; 124.8
- τ(ε)ϕ: τα- 63.50; 64.21,23,26,29; 65.39,39,40; 65.42,48; 66.23,31; 68.13,34; 70.14,43; 71.2,27,28,28; 73.25; 75.4; 76.47; 79.3; 80.3,29; 81.43; 82.26,27; 83.2,3; 85.2,7; 86.9; 88.3,7,7,9,9,13,15,19,22; 89.5,11,12,13,33; 90.2; 92.1; 93.1,2,19,19,20,20; 94.15,24; 98.26; 105.2; 107.8; 109.1; 112.21; 115.3,13,24,24,28,37,38; 122.9,9,15,26,32 τε- (still 1st sing.) 66.22 τεκ- 66.11; 77.9; 78.9; 79.11; 107.5; 115.7; 124.13,14; 128.41 τκ- 57.13; 72.14; 81.32,35; 86.4; 90.13; 103.21,24,25,30; 115.10; 122.5 τε- (2nd fem.) 63.44; 92.5; 95.10 τεϕ- 65.38,45; 75.18; 78.15; 82.31; 89.20,21; 109.32 τϕ- 62.14,17; 66.42,43; 67.38; 72.24,25,30; 73.8; 77.5,35; 79.38; 82.29; 94.9; 108.34,36; 112.22 τς- 64.20; 65.43; 71.27; 80.35; 82.28; 119.47 τς- 64.21,22,23; 66.37; 77.35; 88.29; 89.16; 105.75; 113.9; 117.2; 117.2,2; 119.59,60; 122.6 τν- 68.29,37; 81.52; 90.25; 92.20; 107.15; 116.3 τετν- 72.5; 75.24 τοϒ- 117.1; 122.28
- ν(ε)ϕ: να- 58.11; 61.2,3; 63.11; 66.29; 72.32; 75.3; 76.34; 80.37; 81.24,45; 82.41,41; 85.1,1,6; 91.1; 92.4,7; 103.35; 105.1,43,80; 108.22; 111.42,42; 115.11,11 122.13,14 νεκ- 66.12; 76.3,44; 77.3; 110.44; 112.21; 122.3; 127.12 νε- 71.32; 92.3,5; 95.2; 102.21 νεϕ- 58.12; 65.29,38,46; 66.36,42,44; 67.18; 70.11,34; 72.24,25; 75.41; 77.35; 78.15; 79.40; 82.30; 94.10; 96.28; 103.6; 105.75; 112.22; 119.59; 124.31; 125.15 νϕ- 129.2,5,7 νες- 64.19,21,24; 65.44; 66.32; 68.31; 70.7,10; 71.2; 75.5; 80.35; 92.21; 96.26; 115.38,39; 116.12,18 νς- 77.36 νεν- 62.13; 69.6; 79.37; 80.21,28; 84.25,26; 90.34; 95.14; 96.31; 103.33,37; 110.12; 128.27,29,31 νν- 64.4; 77.26 νετν- 110.17 νεϒ- 90.27; 128.22,43 νοϒ- 67.35,57; 71.32; 72.32; 84.4; 92.5; 94.5,11; 102.20; 105.11,76; 119.61 122.27; 126.14

## Subject index

## Commodities:

for **food** see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΑΚΕ** *sesame*, **ΑΡΩΙΝ** *lentil*, **ΒΝΝΕ** *date*, **ΕΛΑΛΕ** *grape*, **ΪΩΤ** *barley*, **ΚΝΤΕ** *fig*, **ΝΟΥΒC** *jujube*, **ΝΗΖ** *oil*, **ΩΒΩΝ** *herb*, **ΧΑΕΙΤ** *olive*

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* ζιζουλά, καθάρως, καρύα, σησαμηή

for **clothing** see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΚΛΕΦΤ** *cowl*, **ΠΡΗΩ** *blanket*, **ΤΟΟΥΕ** *shoe*, **ΩΑΤ** *cushion*, **ΩΤΗΝ** *tunic*; (generic:) **ΖΒΑC**, **ΖΑΪΤΕ**

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* θώραξ, κολλάριον, στιχάριον

for **books and documents**, see “Native words”, *s.v.* **CZEΪ** *letter*, **ΧΩΜΕ** *book*

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* ἐπιστολή, εὐαγγέλιον, μέλαν, πράξις, τετράς

for **containers** see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΑCΚΑΓΛΕ**, **ΒΕΕΡ** *basket*, **ΛΑΚ** *bowl*, **ΜΡΩΩΕ** *clay pot*, **ΧΛΒΕ** *cloth bag* (?)

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* ἀγγεῖον, κάλαθος, λαβίς, χαλκεῖον

other materials : see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΝΟΥΒ** *gold*, **CΤΗΜ** *antimony*

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* κάλαμος, κλωστήρ (?) *thread*, πλεκτή (twisted material), χάρτης

## Measures, weights, and quantities:

see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΜΑΧΕ**, **ΡΤΑΒ**, **CΑΤΕΡΕ**, **ΩΑΤC** *portion*

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* λαβίς (?), μέρος, μνᾶ, ξέστης, χούς

## Money:

see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΖΑΜΤ** *bronze*, **ΘΝΩΡ** *talent*

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* νομισμάτιον, νοῦμμος, ὀλοκόπτινος, τιμή (at Egyptian price 81.18)

## Personal names: see above, pp. 346–350

## Place-names: see above, pp. 350f. (“Geographical names and provenances”)

## Textile production:

see “Native words”, *s.v.* **ΒΕΚΕ** *wages*, **ΕΟΥΕΝ** *colour*, **ΜΟΥΧΤ** *mix*, **CΩΖΕ** *weave*, **ΤΕΛΟ** *set up (on loom)*, **ΖΙCΕ** *spin*

see “Loan words”, *s.v.* ἡλακάτη *distaff*, κλωστήρ (?), λάσιον

## Transport and destinations:

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“travel / come to Egypt” 69.3; 72.19; 81.17,26,54; 82.18,36; 90.7,39; 111.33; 115.26; 116.9; “travel to Antinoou” 116.11; “travel to Aphrodite” 90.37

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“stay in the Oasis” 81.23; 122.12

“take to / sell in the Oasis” 65.37; 90.11; “bring to Egypt” 90.43

“send (back) to Upper Egypt” 79.27,34

## INVENTORY NUMBERS

As in previous volumes, the movement of fragments has been tracked and a listing is provided. A close study of the various deposits, within which fragments from specific documents or groups of such were recovered during the excavations, has proved to be of value for the difficult task of reconstructing such fragments or groups. Further, it has potential for understanding the history of the persons who lived within these structures, their relationship to each other, and their association with the other kinds of texts (whether dated Greek contracts, horoscopes or Manichaean psalms) as found especially in House 3. The following list does not include fragments or documents from House 4 and the Temple Area, nor fragments that have not been edited.

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P 8	>		P 27B
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P 14	>		63
P 17EE	>		58
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P 45	>		<b>65</b>
P 47	>		P 45
P 51B	>		P 56Ci
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P 51B	>	P 51B(a)i	<b>96</b>
P 51B	>	P 51B(a)ii	<b>97</b>
P 51B	>	P 51B(a)iii	<b>98</b>
P 51C	>		P 14
P 51C	>	P 51C(a)	<b>91</b>
P 51D	>		P 52G
P 51D	>		P 56Ci
P 51D	>		<b>99</b>
P 51D	>	P 51D(b)i	<b>100</b>
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P 52A	>		P 56D(b)
P 52C	>	P 52Ci	<b>102</b>
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P 56B	>		<b>103</b>
P 56C	>		P 45
P 56C	>		P 56B
P 56C	>		P 56G
P 56C	>		<b>88</b>
P 56C	>	P 56C(a)i	<b>74</b>
P 56C	>	P 56C(a)ii	<b>60</b>
P 56C	>	P 56C(a)iii	<b>104</b>
P 56C	>	P 56Ci	<b>105</b>
P 56D	>		<b>75</b>
P 56D	>	P 56D(a)	<b>106</b>
P 56D	>	P 56D(b)	<b>107</b>
P 56E	>		P 56B
P 56E	>		<b>76</b>
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P 56I	>		P 56G
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P 59B	>		P 59A
P 59B	>		P 59A(i)
P 59C	>		P 59A
P 59E	>		P 78J
P 59F	>		P 59A(i)
P 59F	>		P 78J
P 60D	>		P 59A(i)
P 60D	>		<b>67</b>
P 61CC	>		<b>68</b>
P 61G	>	P 61G/I	<b>110</b>
P 61J	>		<b>111</b>
P 61S	>		<b>112</b>
P 61V	>		P 61S
P 61W	>		P 61S
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P 63A	>		P 61S
P 64A	>		P 81E(a)
P 64A	>		P 27A/B
P 64A	>		P 59A(i)
P 65D	>		P 61S
P 65E	>		P 61G/I
P 65F	>		P 61G/I
P 65G	>		P 61G/I
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P 67	>		P 78J
P 68D	>		P 81F/1
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P 68G	>	P 68G(a)	<b>84</b>
P 69	>		P 81E(a)
P 78A	>		<b>113</b>
P 78G	>		P 81E(a)
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P 81E	>		116
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P 81F	>	P 81F/1	77
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## PHOTOGRAPHS

Digital photographs of the texts are provided on the accompanying disc. They were all taken by Jay Johnston in the SCA magazine in the Dakhleh Oasis during January 2009. There are the following exceptions:

**61(v), 70(v), 71(v)**: not processed (only the address is found);

**63(v), 69(v), 87(v), 91(v), 95(v), 101(v), 104(v), 108(v), 114(v), 117(v), 121(v)**: not processed (the papyrus is not inscribed);

**128**: the glass frame containing the fragments from P 96.98 and P 96.108 could not be found in the magazine in 2009, but a photograph of them from 1997 is provided in the volume as a plate;

**130(convex)**: not processed (convex side of the ostrakon not inscribed);

**131**: this wooden board could not be found in the magazine in 2009, but a photograph from 1997 is provided in the volume as a plate.

A small selection of other photographs taken in earlier seasons is also provided in the volume as plates.

## P. KELLIS ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

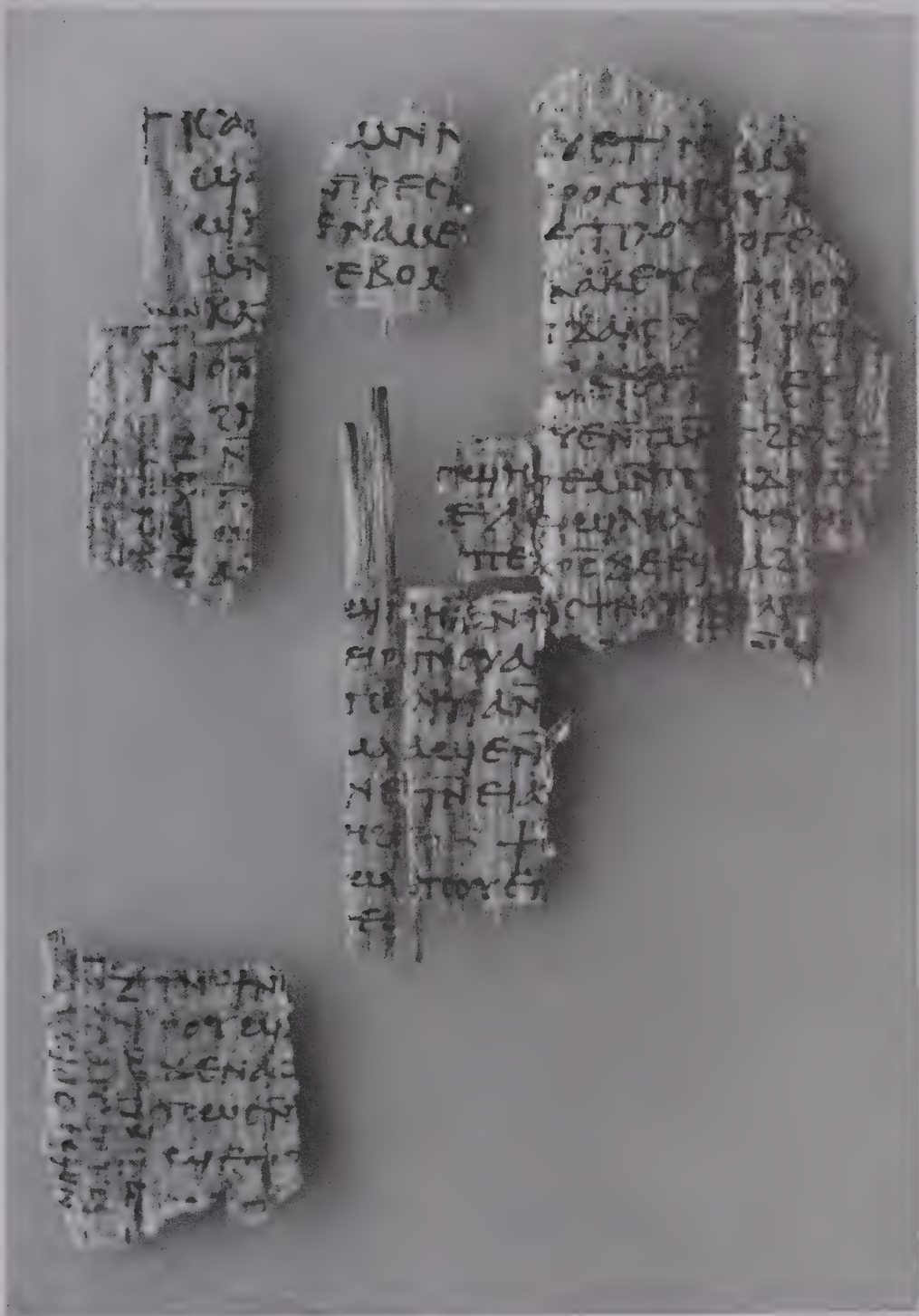
**19, 21** Read  $\lambda\eta\iota\ \pi\epsilon\kappa\kappa\mu\iota\alpha\iota\eta\ \sigma\eta\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ , with  $\sigma\eta\mu\iota\alpha\iota\eta$  for  $\sigma\mu\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  '(little) scalpel, penknife', also attested in Greek papyri as  $\sigma\mu\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu$ . To be translated probably 'Bring your two ink scrapers', if  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda$  represents  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu$  'ink'. Alternatively, but less likely, it might stand for  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  'black'; in which case the meaning would seem to be 'Bring your two black penknives'. The reading  $\sigma\eta\mu\iota\alpha\iota\eta$ , along with its interpretation, was first suggested to us by Geneviève Favrelle (Issy-les-Moulineaux, France; personal letter to WPF, 28-11-2001).

**19, 33** Instead of  $\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , read  $\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ ; i.e. 'the coins that you (f.) have'.

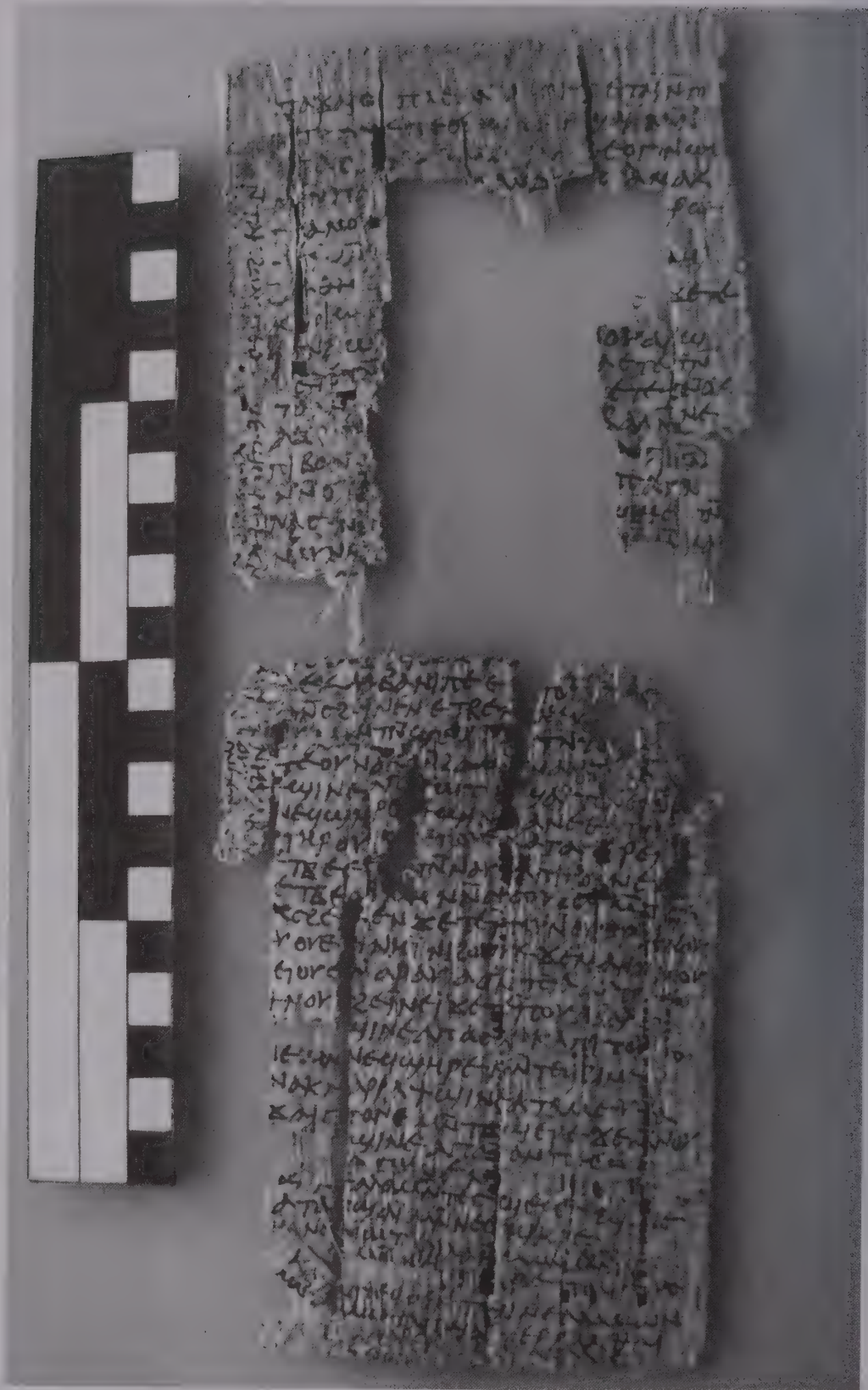
**19, 47** Instead of  $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ , read  $\bar{\eta}\sigma\epsilon$ ; i.e. 'I inquired about my son Andreas'.

- 19, 72            Instead of ΤϢϩΜΨΔΙ, read ΤΨ̄̄ΨΔΙ.
- 33, 9f.            Read ⲡⲙⲉⲣ ⲁ[ . . . ] . Ⲣⲉ ⲕⲧⲉϣ|Ϣⲙ̄̄; i.e. '.. take care of (N.N.) and make him (10) fix (or: 'set up') for us the warp' etc. Delete commentary on l. 9; cf. imperative usage of ⲡⲙⲉⲣ at **81**, 20,39 (equals ⲁⲣⲙⲉⲣ **103**, 38; **105**, 71; **108**, 28).
- 39, 10            Read probably ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲟϥ]ⲁϩϣ (either ⲉⲧⲁⲛ- or ⲉⲧⲁ̄-); i.e. '.. the thing which we (or: 'I') have set (aside) for the man'.
- 39, 20            Translate: '.. not to mention our brother Petros' (A. Shisha-Halevy, 'An Emerging New Dialect of Coptic', *Orientalia* 71, 2002: 306).
- 39, 30-31        In the translation, these two 'transverse' lines are to be set off as a separate subtext.
- 43, 37            Read perhaps ϣⲱ ϩ̄ⲡⲉϥ[ϩ]ⲛⲧ to translate (ll. 36-38): 'Who is it really that takes care of them and their anxiety (?) in their hearts? For, are there any others for them?'
- 43, 40            Read ⲡⲁⲭⲉϥ; i.e. 'They said he did not give it to you'.
- 46,1,4f.,6,11f.    Instead of 'I have ... from him', translate 'He owes me ...'; in ll. 2 and 5f. followed by 'He is to pay them to me ...' (ⲁⲡϩⲓⲧ still unclear). See the explanations in CDT I, p. 60; and also A. Shisha-Halevy, op. cit., 2002: 307 (with some confusion).
- 47, 27f.          Read ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟϥⲱ|[ϣ]ⲉ [ⲁ]ⲉϣ; i.e. 'Whatever he wishes [to] do with my children - he is responsible'.
- 47, 29f.          Translate: 'I owe Mother Partheni 2500 talents - give them to her'.
- 48, 37f.          Translate: 'I owe you another 400 talents and eight jujubes' ('jujubes' apparently corrected from *nummi*: ΝΟΜϢ before correction).





P. Kellis Copt. 61 (r)



P. Kellis Copt. 65 (r)





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P. Kellis Copt. 78 (r)

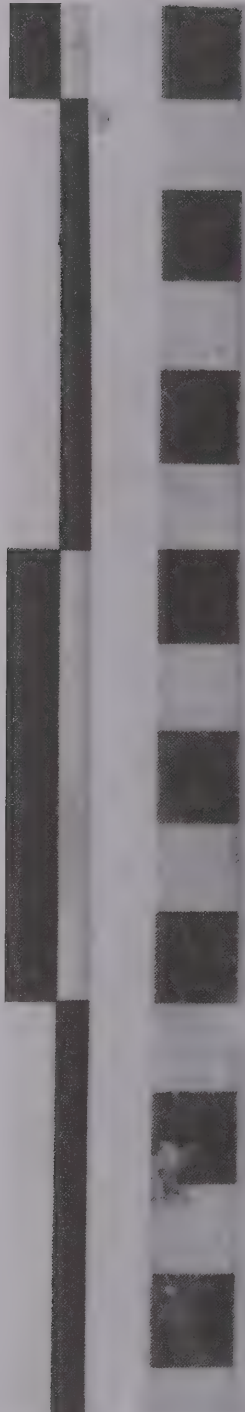
*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text on a scroll fragment]*



Fragment of a papyrus scroll with two columns of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic text. The script is densely packed and appears to be a form of Coptic or Demotic. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges, suggesting it is a piece from a larger document. The left column contains approximately 25 lines of text, while the right column contains approximately 20 lines. The characters are small and closely spaced, typical of ancient Egyptian writing on papyrus.

P. Kellis Copt. 80 (r)

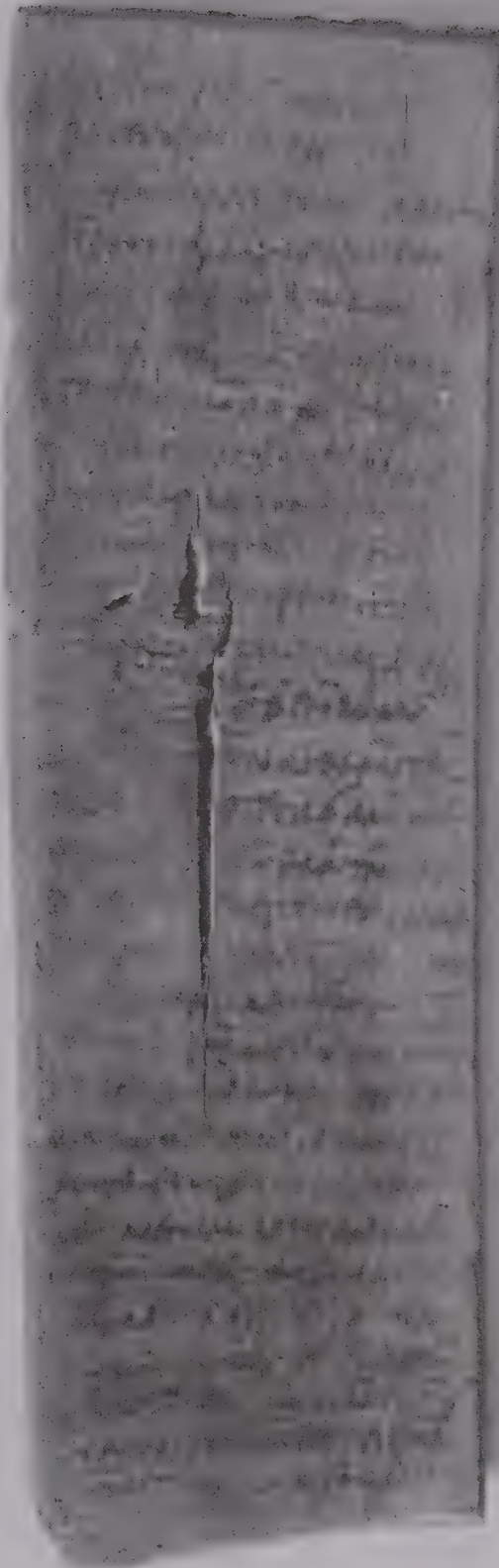




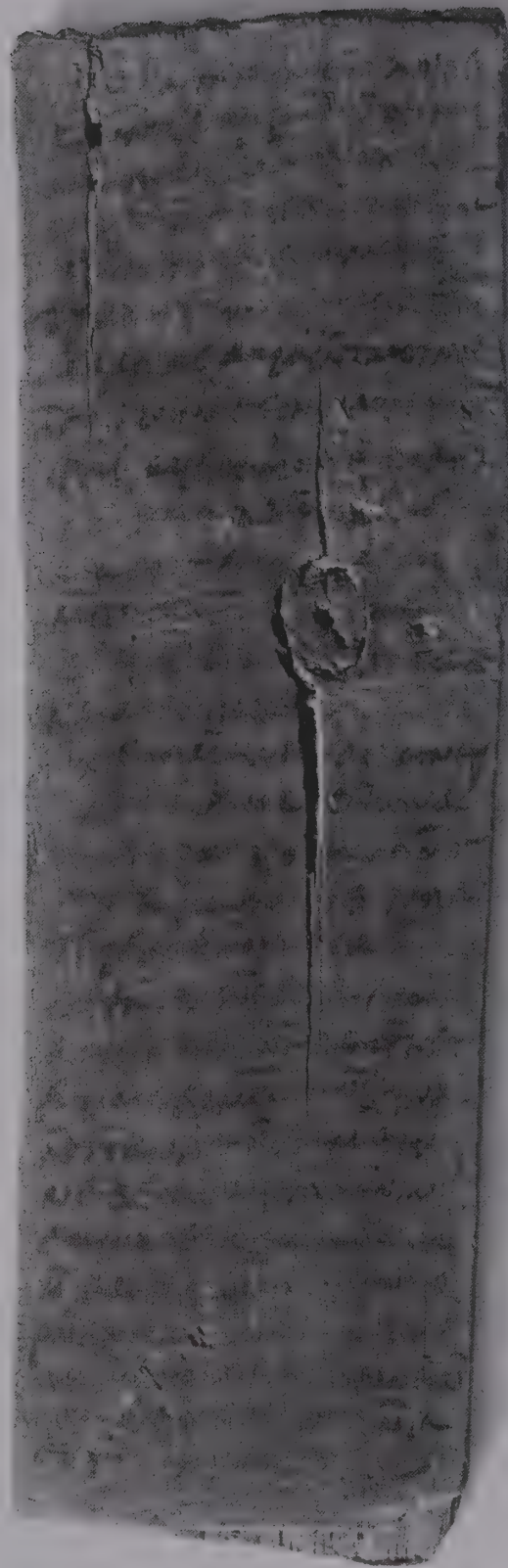
Fragment of a papyrus scroll containing several lines of ancient Greek text. The script is cursive and appears to be from a 3rd-century AD document. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though some are partially obscured by the fragment's shape and damage. The characters are dark and somewhat faded, particularly in the lower portion of the fragment.

P. Kellis Copt. 93 (r)

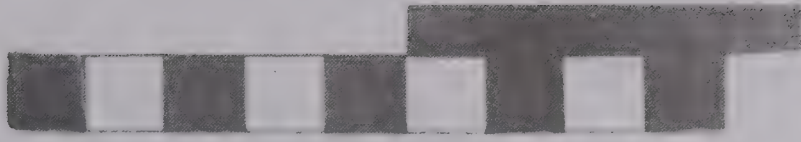




P. Kellis Copt. 94 (A)



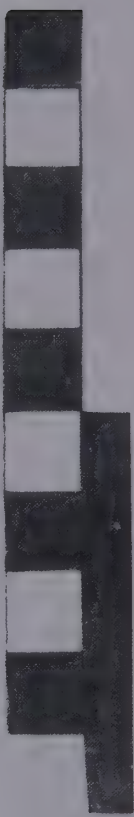
P. Kellis Copt. 94 (B)



Fragment of a papyrus scroll with handwritten text in Coptic script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is a form of the Coptic alphabet, characterized by its unique symbols and the use of red ink for certain characters (likely acrophony). The fragment is narrow and appears to be a section cut from a larger document. The background of the papyrus is visible, showing its fibrous texture.

P. Kellis Copt. 122 (r)

Fragment of a papyrus scroll containing Coptic text in a single column. The script is a form of Coptic, likely from the 4th or 5th century. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage. There are several horizontal lines drawn across the text, possibly indicating paragraph divisions or specific sections. The fragment is irregularly shaped, suggesting it is a piece from a larger document.



P. Kellis Copt. 122 (v)

11  
11

HEIK  
NTIE

NEPOI  
 ETNAE  
 NLEKI  
 ATONN  
 MPEOON  
 YC...  
 E  
 FIOAY  
 NOMO  
 K...  
 TEAPIT  
 ...  
 NEIKOTE  
 NAY...  
 POMHM  
 ...

[Faded fragment]

[Faded fragment]

[Faded fragment]

[Faded fragment]

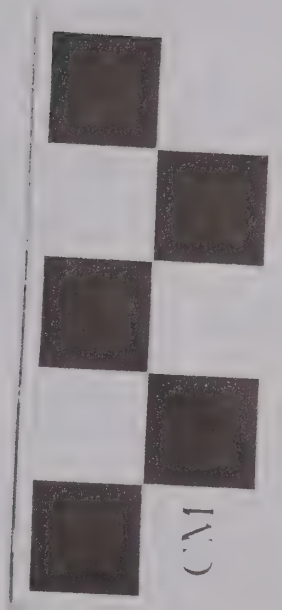
[Faded fragment]





NT  
PWA  
WE  
TEP  
TAM  
ONLE  
POYCI

22  
NAMA BEIPA  
TCHOI CTAETTT  
EIPA METPAI AY  
WONET



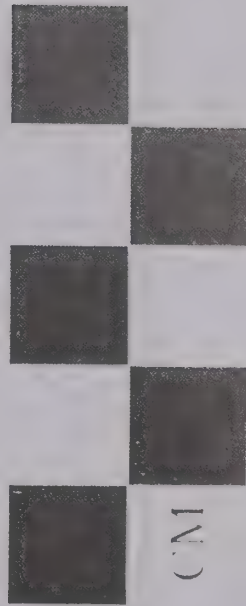
CM

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with three columns of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines across the three columns. The hieroglyphs are densely packed and appear to be a form of administrative or legal record. The fragment is narrow and shows signs of wear and tear, particularly at the edges.

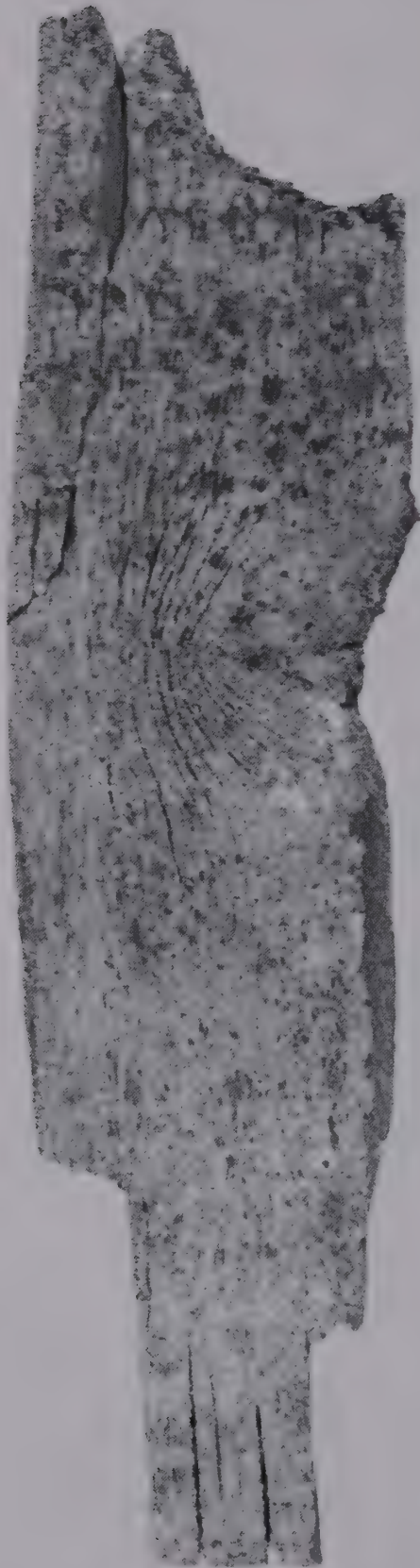
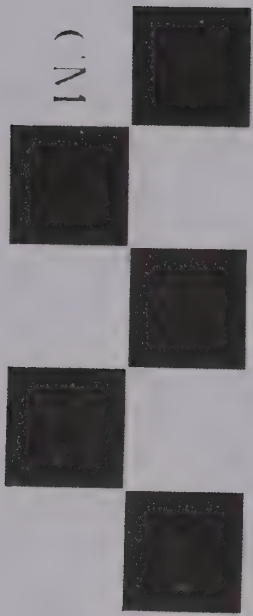




Fragment of a papyrus scroll with approximately 15 lines of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic text. The fragment is narrow and shows signs of wear and tear, including a vertical crease down the center and irregular edges. The hieroglyphs are arranged in horizontal lines, though some are partially obscured or faded.



P. Kellis Copt. 131 (A)



P. Kellis Copt. 131 (B)







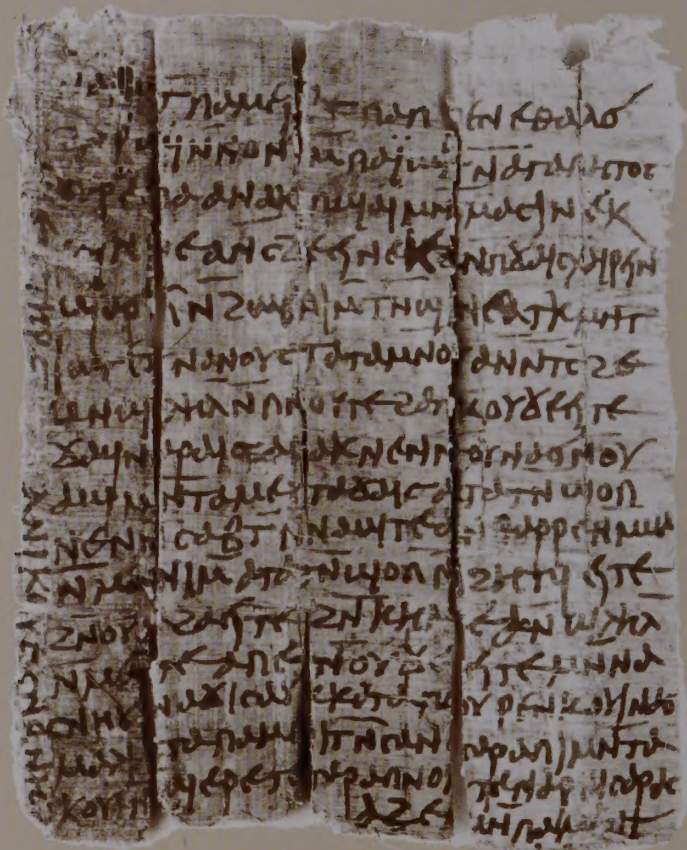




# *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*

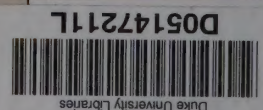
## VOLUME 2: P. KELLIS VII

This is the second volume of fourth century Coptic documents written on papyri and boards as recovered from the ruins of houses at Kellis, the Roman predecessor of the village of Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis. It contains the remains of 75 discrete pieces, mostly letters of personal and business content, and concluding the major archive from House Three together with later finds from House Four and the Temple Area. The documents are transcribed and translated with commentary. Together, these two volumes break new ground in providing a unique insight into the social, economic and religious lives of a late antique village. They give voice to ordinary people and provide genuine insights into literacy and the role of women in a multilingual society, the practice of trade and travel, together with sectarian and normative forms of Christian belief and association at a time of rapid religious transformation.



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